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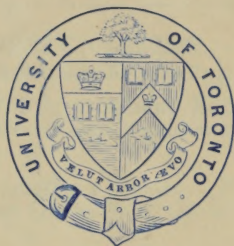
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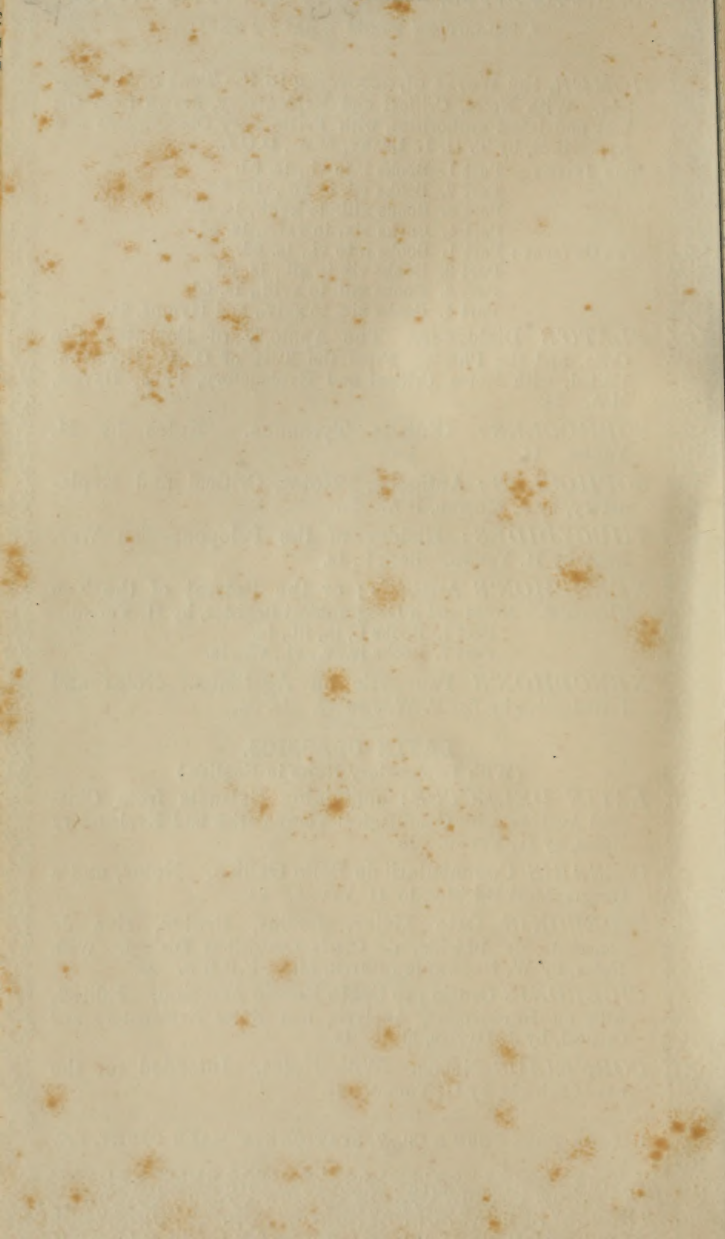
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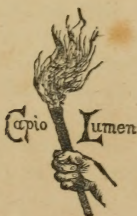
THE HISTORY OF
THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

BOOK I.

EDITED, WITH ENGLISH NOTES CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY

By HENRY YOUNG

LATELY SECOND MASTER OF THE ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL, GUILDFORD.



LONDON

LOCKWOOD & CO., 7, STATIONERS' HALL COURT
LUDGATE HILL

1874

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18.2.44



P R E F A C E.

THE leading characteristic of Boehme's text of Thucydides is an adhesion to the readings of the best manuscripts, except in those passages where corruption is fairly presumable on account of (1) some palpable violation of the universal rules of correct Greek, or (2) a departure from the peculiar style of Thucydides, or (3) absolute unintelligibility. He has then had recourse to the conjectural emendations of others, or has proposed entirely new readings of his own.

As far as obedience to the authority of the *best* manuscripts goes, I have followed Boehme. With a few exceptions the punctuation also of this edition coincides with that of his: where he has repudiated manuscript authority, I have instituted a diligent and careful comparison between his own text and those of Bekker, Krueger, and of the edition published by Engelmann at Leipsic, 1852, and have exercised my best judgment in making a selection.

Conscious of the difficulties which beset the student's first endeavours to unravel the intricacies of a Thucydidean sentence, to extract from it its full, precise, and essential meaning, and to ascertain its exact relation to its contextual neighbours and its bearings upon the entire argument or narrative,—I have ventured to introduce into the earlier portion of the notes a larger amount of matter purely explanatory than will, perhaps, suit the views of those who regard with jealousy and apprehension the possession by a learner—especially by a schoolboy—of any real auxiliary to him in the task of translating, except the orthodox and legitimate appliances of grammar and dictionary. But I am not

aware of having done anything in this volume calculated to supersede the use of either of these. On the contrary, I am anxious that it should be understood that the annotatory matter included within inverted commas is by no means intended to embody my ideas of what a translation of Thucydides ought to be. Had I given a free idiomatic version, its identity in meaning with the original Greek would hardly have been discernible by a beginner; had I offered a strictly literal, word-for-word rendering, it would hardly have been intelligible to any one. What I have attempted is simply this: to furnish the student, throughout the greater part of the first fifty chapters, with a clue to enable him to thread his way through the mazes of the Thucydidean labyrinth; with a well-defined chart to guide him in what is confessedly a difficult and intricate course.

H. Y.

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣ Α.

auth. Conscript

I.—1. Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὥς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθύς καθίσταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντες τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρωι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὄρων ξυनिστάμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον. 2. κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς δὲ εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς μὲν εὐρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλήθος ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα.

II.—1. Φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ ῥαδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες, βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τινων ἀεὶ πλειόνων. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποξῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, (ἄδηλον ὅν ὁπότε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται), τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέ-

ραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν,
 οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει
 πόλεων ἴσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ. 2. μάλιστα δὲ
 τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη αἰεὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν οἰκητόρων εἶχεν,
 ἢ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία· καλουμένη καὶ Βοιωτία Πελοποννή-
 σου τε τὰ πολλὰ πλὴν Ἀρκαδίας, τῆς τε ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν
 κράτιστα. διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς αἱ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους
 ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποιοῦν ἐξ ὧν ἐφθείροντο, καὶ
 ἅμα ὑπὸ ἄλλοφύλων μᾶλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο. τὴν γοῦν
 Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστα-
 σίαςτον οὔσαν ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ. 3. καὶ πα-
 ράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ τὰς
 μετοικήσεις τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς
 ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμῳ ἢ στάσει ἐκπίπτοντες παρ'
 Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ὡς βέβαιον ὄν ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ
 πολῖται γιγνόμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ μείζω ἔτι ἐποίη-
 σαν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν
 ὕστερον ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀποικίας
 ἐξέπεμψαν.

III.—1. Δηλοῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθέ-
 νειαν οὐχ ἥκιστα· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωικῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται
 πρότερον κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς. 2. δοκεῖ δέ μοι,
 οὐδὲ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ξύμπασά πω εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν
 πρὸ Ἑλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι ἡ
 ἐπὶ κλησις αὕτη, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγι-
 κὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι,
 Ἑλληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυ-
 σάντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐς τὰς
 ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἐκάστους μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον
 καλεῖσθαι Ἑλληνας, οὐ μέντοι πολλοῦ γε χρόνου ἡδύνατο
 καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι. 3. τεκμηριοὶ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος·
 πολλῶ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτι καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενος
 οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ξύμπαντας ὠνόμασεν οὐδ' ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς

μετ' Ἀχιλλέως ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, οἵπερ καὶ πρῶτοι
 "Ελληνες ἦσαν, Δαναοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀργείους
 καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνακαλεῖ. 4. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βαρβάρους εἴρηκε
 διὰ τὸ μῆδ' Ἑλληνάς πω, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀντίπαλον ἐς
 ἐν ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι. οἱ δ' οὖν ὥς ἕκαστοι "Ελληνες
 κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν καὶ ξύμπαντες
 ὕστερον κληθέντες οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν
 καὶ ἀμιξίαν ἀλλήλων ἀθρόοι ἔπραξαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην
 τὴν στρατείαν θαλάσση ἤδη πλείω χρώμενοι ξυνήλθον.

IV.—1. Μίνως γάρ παλαιάτατος ὢν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν ναυ-
 τικὸν ἐκτίησας καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ
 πλείστον ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἥρξέ τε καὶ
 οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο, Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας
 καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἡγεμόνας ἐγκαταστήσας· τὸ τε
 ληστικόν, ὥς εἰκός, καθήρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅσον
 ἡδύνατο, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἵεναι αὐτῷ.

V.—1. Οἱ γὰρ "Ελληνες τὸ πάλαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων
 οἳ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ ὅσοι νήσους
 εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ ἥρξαντο μᾶλλον περαιούσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπ'
 ἀλλήλους, ἐτράποντο πρὸς ληστείαν, ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν
 οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἕνεκα
 καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς, καὶ προσπίπτοντες πόλεσιν
 ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις ἥρπαζον καὶ τὸν
 πλείστον τοῦ βίου ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω
 αἰσχύνῃν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης
 μᾶλλον. 2. δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν τε ἡπειρωτῶν τινες ἔτι καὶ
 νῦν, οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν
 ποιητῶν, τὰς πύστεις τῶν καταπλεόντων πανταχοῦ
 ὁμοίως ἐρωτῶντες εἰ λησταί εἰσιν, ὥς οὔτε ὢν πυνθάνου-
 νται ἀπαξιούντων τὸ ἔργον, οἷς τ' ἐπιμελὲς εἶη εἰδέναι οὐκ
 ὄνειδιζόντων. 3. ἐλήζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον ἀλλήλους.
 καὶ μέχρι τούδε πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ
 νέμεται περὶ τε Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ

Ακαρνᾶνας καὶ τὴν ταύτην ἤπειρον. τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι οὗτοι τοῖς ἠπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ληστείας ἐμμεμένηκε.

VI.—1. Πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσιδηροφόρει διὰ τὰς ἀφράκτους τε αἰκήσεις καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους, καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι. σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι οὕτω νεμόμενα τῶν ποτε καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων διαιτημάτων. 2. ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίατον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοὺς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν. 3. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχε. μετρία δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρώτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδίατοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν. ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρώτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀποδύντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμᾶσθαι ἠλείψαντο. 4. τὸ δὲ πάλαι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἡγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπανται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐστὶν οἷς νῦν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς, πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἄθλα τίθεται, καὶ διεξωσμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσι. πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξειε τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ὁμοίотροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτώμενον.

VII.—1. Τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ᾤκίσθησαν καὶ ἤδη πλωιμωτέρων ὄντων, περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τεύχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἑκάστοις ἰσχύος.

2. αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ διὰ τὴν ληστείαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ῥοκίσθησαν, αἱ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις (ἔφερον γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι κάτω ῥοκουν), καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ἀνφοκισμένοι εἰσὶ.

VIII.—1. Καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν λησταὶ ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται. Κᾶρες τε ὄντες καὶ Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων ῥοκησαν. μαρτύριον δέ· Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεισῶν, ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἡμῖς Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν, γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένη καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἔτι θιάπτουσι· 2. καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλωιμώτερα ἐγένετο παρ' ἀλλήλους· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι ἀνέστησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτε περ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κατόκιζε. καὶ οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ἤδη τὴν κτήσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι βεβαιότερον ῥοκουν, καὶ τινες καὶ τεῖχη περιεβάλλοντο ὥς πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι· 3. ἐφιεμένοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν οἳ τε ἦσσαν ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν κρεισσόνων δουλείαν, οἳ τε δυνατώτεροι περιουσίας ἔχοντες προσεποιούντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἤδη ὄντες ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσαν.

IX.—1. Ἀγαμέμνων τέ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμει προὔχων καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῖς Τυνδάρεω ὄρκοις κατειλημμένους τοὺς Ἑλένης μνηστῆρας ἄγων τὸν στόλον ἀγεῖραι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μνήμη παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι Πέλοπά τε πρῶτον πλήθει χρημάτων, ἃ ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχων ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀπόρους, δύναμιν περιποιησάμενον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς χώρας ἐπηλύτην ὄντα ὅμως σχεῖν, 2. καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἔτι μείζω ξυνενεχθῆναι, Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ

Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρέως δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτ' ἐστράτεψε, Μυκῆνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεῖ, τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον, καὶ ὥς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεὺς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καὶ ἅμα δυνατὸν δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλήθος τεθεραπευκότα τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεὺς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήναι. 3. ἃ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῷ [τε] ἅμα ἐπὶ πλεόν τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύσας τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλείον ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγὼν ποιήσασθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσί τε πλείεσταις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος καὶ Ἀρχάσι προσ- παρασχών, ὥς Ὅμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἰ τῷ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι. καὶ ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἅμα τῇ παραδόσει εἴρηκεν αὐτὸν “πολλῇσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν” οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσων ἔξω τῶν περιοικίδων (αὗται δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλαὶ εἴησαν) ἡπειρώτης ὣν ἐκράτει, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ οἷα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς.

X.—1. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιοχρεῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖς ἂν τις σημείῳ χρώμενος ἀπιστοίῃ μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἷ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασιν καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει. 2. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, λειφθείη δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι (καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοῖρας νέμονται τῆς τε ξυμπάσης ἡγοῦνται καὶ τῶν ἔξω ξυμμάχων πολλῶν. 3. ὅμως δέ, οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κόμας δὲ

τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεέστερα), Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων διπλασίαν ἂν τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς φανεράς ὄψεως τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἔστιν. 4. οὐκ οὐν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκὸς οὐδὲ τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζειν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, τῇ Ὀμήρου αὖ ποιήσει εἴ τι χρὴ κἀνταῦθα πιστεύειν, ἢν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κόσμησαι, ὅμως δὲ φαίνεται καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεστέρα. 5. πεποίηκε γὰρ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων νεῶς τὰς μὲν Βοιωτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ Φιλοκτῆτου πεντήκοντα, δηλῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας· ἄλλων γοῦν μεγέθους πέρι ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ οὐκ ἐμνησθη. 6. αὐτερέται δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν καὶ μάχιμοι πάντες, ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκτῆτου ναυσὶ δεδήλωκε· τοξότας γὰρ πάντας πεποίηκε τοὺς προσκώπους. περίνεως δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς πολλοὺς ξυμπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐν τέλει, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντας πέλαγος περαιώσεσθαι μετὰ σκευῶν πολεμικῶν οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφρακτα ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ληστικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα. 7. πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας οὖν καὶ ἐλαχίστας ναῦς τὸ μέσον σκοποῦντι οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνονται ἐλθόντες, ὡς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῇ πεμπόμενοι.

XI.—1. Αἴτιον δ' ἦν οὐχ ἡ ὀλιγαθρωπία τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡ ἀχρηματία. τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς ἀπορία τόν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσῃ ἤγαγον καὶ ὅσον ἤλπιζον αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύσειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν (δήλον δέ· τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο), φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ ληστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορία. 2. ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Τρῶες αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἀνείχον βία, τοῖς αἰεὶ

^{καὶ οὐκ} ὑπολειπομένοις ^{ἐκείνων} ἀντιπαλοὶ ὄντες. ^{ἐκείνων} περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι ἄνευ ληστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥαδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἶλον, οἳ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι, ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ αἰεὶ παρόντι ἀντείχον. 3. πολιορκία δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλάσσεινί τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἶλον. ἀλλὰ δι' ἀχρηματίαν τά τε πρὸ τούτων ἀσθενή ἦν καὶ αὐτὰ γε δὴ ταῦτα ὀνομαστότατα τῶν πρὶν γενόμενα δηλοῦνται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης καὶ τοῦ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος.

XII.—1. Ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἔτι μετανίστατό τε καὶ κατωκίετο, ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχίασαν αὐξηθῆναι. ἢ τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία γενομένη πολλὰ ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις ἔκτιζον. 2. Βοιωτοὶ τε γὰρ οἳ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ὥκησαν (ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἰλίον ἐστράτευσαν), Δωριῆς τε ὀγδοηκοστῷ ἔτει ξὺν Ἡρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον. 3. μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχίασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ Ἰωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ὥκισαν, Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλεόν Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἔστιν ἡ χωρία. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὕστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐκτίσθη.

XIII.—1. Δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων (πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι), ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο ἡ Ἑλλὰς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντεί-

χοιτο. 2. πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν πρόπου μεταχειρίσαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τρήρεις πρῶτον ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐνναυπηγηθῆναι. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίους Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυ^πηγὸς ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας· ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τρια ὅσια ἐς τὴν τελευταίην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίους ἦλθε. 3. ναυμαχία τε παλαιτάτη ὣν ἴσμεν γίνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους· ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτῃ ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιά ἐστι μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου. οἰκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ αἰεὶ δὴ ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμίσγόντων, χρήμασί τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, ὥς καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς δεδήλωται· ἀφνειὸν γὰρ ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ χωρίον. 4. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἐπλώιζον, τὰς ναῦς κτησάμενοι τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρουν, καὶ ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφοτέρα δυνατὴν ἔσχον χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὴν πόλιν. 5. καὶ Ἰωσιν ὕστερον πολὺ γίνεται ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ Κύρου, Περσῶν πρώτου βασιλεύοντος, καὶ Καμβύσου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θαλάσσης Κύρῳ πολεμοῦντες ἐκράτησάν τινα χρόνον. καὶ Πολυκράτης, Σάμου τυραννὼν ἐπὶ Καμβύσου, ναυτικῶ ἰσχύων ἄλλας τε τῶν νήσων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησατο καὶ Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ. Φωκαῆς τε Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες.

XIV.—1. Δυνατώτατα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦν. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερα γεγνημένα τῶν Τρωικῶν, τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ' ἔτι καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα. 2. ὀλίγον τε πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου, ὃς μετὰ Καμβύσῃν Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε, τριή-

ρεις περί τε Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς πλήθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραίοις· ταῦτα γὰρ τελευταῖα πρὸ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ναυτικὰ ἀξιόλογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέστη. 3. Αἰγινῆται γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλοι, βραχέα ἐκέκτηντο καὶ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ πεντηκοντόρους· ὅψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν Αἰγινῆταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου οὗτος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι, αἶσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ αὗται οὐπω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα.

XV.—1. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ναυτικὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοιαῦτα ἦν, τά τε παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ὕστερον γεγόμενα. ἰσχὺν δὲ περιεποιήσαντο ὅμως οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οἱ προσχόντες αὐτοῖς χρημάτων τε προσόδῳ καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχῇ· ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ τὰς νήσους κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ διαρκῇ εἶχον γώραν. 2. κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη· πάντες δὲ ἦσαν, ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο, πρὸς ὁμόρους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐκάστοις, καὶ ἐκδήμους στρατείας πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἄλλων καταστροφῇ οὐκ ἐξήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες. 3. οὐ γὰρ ξυνεστήκεσαν πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις ὑπήκοοι, οὐδ' αὖ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης κοινὰς στρατείας ἐποιοῦντο, κατ' ἀλλήλους δὲ μᾶλλον ὥς ἕκαστοι οἱ ἀστυγείτονες ἐπολέμουν. μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὸν πάλαι ποτὲ γεγόμενον πόλεμον Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἐρετριέων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐκατέρων διέστη.

XVI.—1. Ἐπεγένετο δὲ ἄλλοις τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μὴ αὐξηθῆναι, καὶ Ἰωσι προχωρησάντων ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων Κύρος καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐξουσία Κροῖσον κατελοῦσα καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς Ἄλυσ ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐπεστράτευσεν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλεις ἐδούλωσεν, Δαρεῖός τε ὕστερον τῷ Φοινίκων ναυτικῷ κρατῶν καὶ τὰς νήσους.

XVII.—1. Τύραννοί τε ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνι-

καὶς πόλεσι, τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μόνον προορώμενοι ἕς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἕς τὸ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον αὖξειν δι' ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο μάλιστα τὰς πόλεις ὥκουν, ἐπράχθη τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον, εἰ μὴ εἴ τι πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις. 2. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως. οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον κατείχετο μήτε κοινῇ φανερόν μηδὲν κατεργάζεσθαι, κατὰ πόλεις τε ἀτολμοτέρα εἶναι.

XVIII.—1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ τε Ἀθηναίων τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος (ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννεύσειν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατελύθησαν (ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν νῦν ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν Δωριέων ἐπὶ πλείστον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον στασιάσασα ὅμως ἐκ παλαιότητας καὶ εὐνομήθη καὶ αἰὲ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν· ἔτη γὰρ ἐστὶ μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλείω ἕς τὴν τελευταίην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ δυνάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασαν), μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ πολλοὺς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον καὶ ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη Μήδων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐγένετο. δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν αὖθις ὁ βάρβαρος τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος ἦλθε. 2. καὶ μεγάλου κινδύνου ἐπικρεμασθέντος οἱ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν συμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δυνάμει προὔχοντες, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιόντων τῶν Μήδων διανοηθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβάντες ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο. 3. κοινῇ τε ἀπώσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ διεκρίθησαν πρὸς τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ τε ἀποστάντες βασιλέως Ἑλλήνων καὶ οἱ συμπολεμήσαντες· δυνάμει γὰρ ταῦτα μέγιστα διεφάνη· ἰσχυροὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ ναυσί. 4. καὶ ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ξυνέμεινεν ἡ ὁμαιχμία,

ἔπειτα διενεχθέντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινές που διασταίεν, πρὸς τούτους ἤδη ἐχώρουν. 5. ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐς τόνδε αἰὲν τὸν πόλεμον τὰ μὲν σπενδόμενοι, τὰ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ἢ ἀλλήλοις ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχοις ἀφισταμένοις εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιοῦμενοι.

XIX.—1. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἡγοῦντο, κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδεύως ὅπως πολιτεύσωσι θεραπεύοντες, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ναῦς τε τῶν πόλεων τῷ χρόνῳ παραλαμβάνοντες, πλὴν Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες φέρειν. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἰδία παρασκευὴ μείζων ἢ ὥς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἦνθησαν.

XX.—1. Τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εὗρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἦν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ἢ, ὁμοίως ἀβασανίστως παρ' ἀλλήλων δέχονται. 2. Ἀθηναίων γοῦν τὸ πλῆθος Ἱππαρχον οἶονται ὑφ' Ἀρμόδιου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι Ἱππίας μὲν πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἦρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱέων, Ἱππαρχος δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλὸς ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ὑποτοπήσαντες δέ τι ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παραχρῆμα Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότων σφίσιν Ἱππία μεμνηῦσθαι τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὥς προειδότες, βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι, τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι ἀπέκτειναν. 3. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὄντα καὶ οὐ χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἶονται, ὥσπερ τοὺς τε Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιᾷ

ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἐκάτερον, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν, καὶ τὸν Πι-
τανιάτην λόχον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃς οὐδ' ἐγένετο πώποτε.
οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται.

XXI.—1. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως
τοιαῦτα ἂν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἂ διήλθον οὐχ ἁμαρτά-
νοι, καὶ οὔτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ
μείζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι
ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέσ-
τερον, ὅντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν
ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνευικηκότα, εὐρήσθαι δὲ ἡγη-
σάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι
ἀποχρώντως. 2. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος, καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν πολεμῶσι τὸν παρόντα αἰὲ μέγιστον
κρινόντων, παυσαμένων δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μᾶλλον θαυμαζόν-
των, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι δηλώσει ὅμως
μείζων γεγενημένος αὐτῶν.

XXII.—1. Καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι ἢ μέλ-
λοντες πολεμήσειν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν
ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν ἐμοί
τε ὦν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγ-
γέλλουσι· ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰὲ πα-
ρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα
τῆς συμπίσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως
εἴρηται. 2. τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἡξίωσα γράφειν
οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ
τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατόν ἀκριβεῖα περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπεξελ-
θών. ἐπιπόνως δὲ εὐρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔρ-
γοις ἐκάστοις οὐ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἐκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι. 3. καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρό-
ασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερων φανέται·
ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν

καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὥφελίμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἔξει. κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρήμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.

XXIII.—1. Τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν, καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως δυοῖν ναυμαχίαιν καὶ πεζομαχίαιν ταχείαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχε. τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκός τε μέγα προὔβη, παθήματά τε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ Ἑλλάδι οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ. 2. οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις τοσαῖδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρημώθησαν, αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων (εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ καὶ οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον ἀλίσκόμεναι), οὔτε φυγαῖ τοσαῖδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνος, ὁ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν. 3. τά τε πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις, αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονευόμενα ξυνέβησαν, αὐχμοὶ τε ἔστι παρ' οἷς μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ ἢ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάβασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείραςα ἢ λοιμώδης νόσος· ταῦτα γὰρ παντα μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα ξυνεπέθετο. 4. ἥρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς τριακοντούεις σπονδὰς αἱ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν. Διότι δ' ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας προέγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἑλλησι κατέστη. 5. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν· αἱ δ' ἐς τὸ φανερόν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι αἰδ' ἦσαν ἐκατέρων, ἀφ' ὧν λύσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

XXIV.—1. Ἐπίδαμνος ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον. προσοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι Βάρβαροι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος. ταύτην ἀπώκισαν μὲν Κερκυραῖοι, οἰκιστὴς δ' ἐγένετο Φαλῖος Ἐρατοκλείδου, Κορίνθιος γένος, τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως κατακληθεῖς. 2. ξυνώκισαν δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων τινὲς καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους. προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. στασιάζσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, ὡς λέγεται, ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς ἐστερήθησαν. 3. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατοὺς, οἱ δὲ ἀπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐληίζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τηγὴν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. 4. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἐπιέζοντο, πέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πρέσβεις ὡς μητρόπολιν οὔσαν, δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε φεύγοντας ξυναλλάξαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον καταλύσαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἰκέται καθεζόμενοι ἐς τὸ Ἡραϊον ἐδέοντο. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν ἰκετείαν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψαν.

XXV.—1. Γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας τιμωρίαν οὔσαν ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν, καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήρουντο εἰ παραδοῖεν Κορινθίοις τὴν πόλιν ὡς οἰκισταῖς καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ πειρῶντο ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. 2. ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνείλε παραδοῦναι καὶ ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι. ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον παρέδωκαν τὴν ἀποικίαν, τὸν τε οἰκιστὴν ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὄντα καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον δηλοῦντες, ἐδέοντό τε μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν διαφθειρομένους, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι. 3. Κορίνθιοι δὲ κατὰ τε τὸ δίκαιον ὑπεδέξαντο

τὴν τιμωρίαν, νομίζοντες οὐχ ἦσσαν ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἢ Κερκυραίων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μίσει τῶν Κερκυραίων, ὅτι αὐτῶν παρημέλουν ὄντες ἄποικοι· 4. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι, περιφρονούντες δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι, ναυτικῷ δὲ καὶ πολὺ προέχειν ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαιρόμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας κλέος ἔχοντων τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς. ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξηρτύοντο τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ ἦσαν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι· 5. τριήρεις γὰρ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἤρχοντο πολεμεῖν.

XXVI.—1. Πάντων οὖν τούτων ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμπον ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἄσμενοι τὴν ὠφελίαν, οἰκήτορά τε τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι κελεύοντες καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Λευκαδίων καὶ ἑαυτῶν φρουροὺς. ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ πεζῇ ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν, Κορινθίων οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, δέει τῶν Κερκυραίων μὴ κωλύονται ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι. 2. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἦσθοντο τοὺς τε οἰκήτορας καὶ φρουροὺς ἡκοντας ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον τὴν τε ἀποικίαν Κορινθίοις δεδομένην, ἐχαλέπαινον· καὶ πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ ὕστερον ἐτέρῳ στόλῳ τοὺς τε φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον κατ' ἐπήρειαν δέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς (ἦλθον γὰρ ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν οἱ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων φυγάδες, τείφους τε ἀποδεικνύντες καὶ ξυγγένειαν, ἣν προῖσχύμενοι ἐδέοντο σφᾶς κατὰγειν) τοὺς τε φρουροὺς οὓς Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμψαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀποπέμπειν. 3. ὥς δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν, στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων ὥς κατάξοντες, καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς προσλαβόντες. προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ

τὴν πόλιν προεῖπον Ἐπιδαμνίων τε τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὥς πολεμίοις χρήσασθαι. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι (ἔστι δ' ἰσθμὸς τὸ χωρίον) ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν πόλιν.

XXVII.—1. Κορίνθιοι δ', ὥς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου ἦλθον ἄγγελοι ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται, παρεσκευάζοντο στρατιάν, καὶ ἅμα ἀποικίαν ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκήρυσσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι· εἰ δέ τις τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν μὴ ἐθέλοι ξυμπλεῖν, μετέχειν δὲ βούλεται τῆς ἀποικίας, πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καταθέντα Κορινθίας μένειν. 2. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πλείοντες πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰργύριον καταβάλλοντες. ἐδεήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων ναυσὶ σφᾶς ξυμπροπέμψειν, εἰ ἄρα κωλύοντο ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων πλεῖν· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ὀκτὼ ναυσὶ ξυμπλεῖν, καὶ Παλῆς Κεφαλλήνων τέσσαρσι. 3. καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐδήθησαν, οὐ παρέσχον πέντε, Ἑρμιονῆς δὲ μίαν καὶ Τροιζήνιοι δύο, Λευκάδιοι δὲ δέκα καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ὀκτώ. Θηβαίους δὲ χρήματα ἤτησαν καὶ Φλιασίους, Ἡλείους δὲ ναῦς τε κενὰς καὶ χρήματα. αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων νῆες παρεσκευάζοντο τριάκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι ὀπλῖται.

XXVIII.—1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευὴν, ἐλθόντες ἐς Κόρινθον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Σικυννίων πρέσβων, οὓς παρέλαβον, ἐκέλευον Κορινθίους τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ φρουροὺς τε καὶ οἰκήτορας ἀπάγειν, ὥς οὐ μετὸν αὐτοῖς Ἐπιδάμνου. 2. εἰ δέ τι ἀντιποιοῦνται, δίκας ἤθελον δοῦναι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς ἂν ἀμφότεροι ξυμβῶσιν· ὁποτέρων δ' ἂν δικασθῇ εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν, τούτους κρατεῖν. ἤθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἶων ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν, ἐκείνων βιαζομένων, φίλους ποιεῖσθαι οὓς οὐ βούλονται, ἑτέρους τῶν νῦν ὄντων μᾶλλον, ὠφελίας ἕνεκα.

3. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἦν τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου ἀπάγωσι, βουλευσέσθαι πρότερον δὲ οὐ κἀλῶς ἔχειν τοὺς μὲν πολιορκεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ δικάζεσθαι. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον, ἦν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ ἀπαγάγωσι, ποιήσῃν ταῦτα. ἐτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι καὶ ὥστε ἀμφοτέρους μένειν κατὰ χώρων, σπονδὰς δὲ ποιήσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἡ δίκη γένηται.

XXIX.—1. Κορίνθιοι δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπήκουον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλήρεις αὐτοῖς ἦσαν αἱ νῆες καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι παρήσαν, προπέμψαντες κήρυκα πρότερον πόλεμον προερούντα Κερκυραίοις, ἄραντες ἐβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πέντε δισχιλίοις τε ὀπλίταις ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον, Κερκυραίοις ἐναντία πολεμήσουσες. 2. ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῶν μὲν νεῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Πελλίχου καὶ Καλλικράτης ὁ Καλλίου καὶ Τιμάνωρ ὁ Τιμάνθους, τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ Ἀρχέτιμος τε ὁ Εὐρυτίμου καὶ Ἰσαρχίδας ὁ Ἰσάρχου. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀκτίῳ τῆς Ἀνακτορίας γῆς, οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, οἱ Κερκυραῖοι κήρυκά τε προέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἀπερούντα μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἅμα ἐπλήρουν, ζεύξαντές τε τὰς παλαιὰς ὥστε πλωίμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκευάσαντες. 4. ὡς δὲ ὁ κήρυξ τε ἀπήγγειλεν οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον παρὰ τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς ἐπεπλήρωντο οὔσαι ὀγδοήκοντα (τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ Ἐπίδαμνον ἐπολιόρκουν), ἀνταναγόμενοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ ναῦς πεντεκαίδεκα διέφθειραν τῶν Κορινθίων. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον πολιορκοῦντας παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογία ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐπήλυδας ἀποδόσθαι, Κορινθίους δὲ δῆσαντας ἔχειν ἕως ἂν ἄλλο τι δόξῃ.

XXX.—1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ τῆς Κερκύρας ἀ-

κρωτηρίῳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὓς ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτειναν, Κορινθίους δὲ δῆσαντες εἶχον. 2. ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσημένοι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης ἐκρίτουν τῆς κατ' ἐκείνα τὰ χωρία οἱ Κερκυραῖοι, καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐς Λευκίδα τὴν Κορινθίων ἀποικίαν τῆς γῆς ἔτεμον καὶ Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἡλείων ἐπίνειον ἐνεπρησαν, ὅτι ναῦς καὶ χρήματα παρέσχον Κορινθίοις. 3. τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλεῖστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐπεκράτουν τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἐφθειρον, μέχρι οὗ Κορίνθιοι περιόντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ναῦς καὶ στρατιάν, ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ περὶ τὸ Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος, φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τε Λευκάδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅσαι σφίσι φίλαι ἦσαν. 4. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμῃ ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ. ἐπέπλεόν τε οὐδέτεροι ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντικαθεζόμενοι χειμῶνος ἤδη ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἐκάτεροι

XXXI.—1. Τὸν δ' ἐναυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὕστερον οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὀργῇ φέροντες τὸν πρὸς Κερκυραίους πόλεμον ἐναυπηγοῦντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ κρῖτιστα νεῶν στόλον, ἐκ τε αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀγείροντες καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐρέτας, μισθῷ πείθοντες. 2. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ (ἦσαν γὰρ οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων ἔνσπονδοι οὐδὲ ἐσεγράψαντο ἑαυτοὺς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδὰς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων) ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ὥς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι καὶ ὠφελίαν τινὰ πειρᾶσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐρίσκεσθαι. 3. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευσόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφίσι πρὸς τῷ Κερκυραίων ναυτικῷ καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν προσγεγόμε-

νον ἐμπόδιον γένηται θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἢ βούλονται. καταστάσης δὲ ἐκκλησίας ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε.

XXXII.—1. Δίκαιον, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς μήτε εὐεργεσίας μεγάλης μήτε ξυμμαχίας προυφειλομένης ἤκοντας παρὰ τοὺς πέλας ἐπικουρίας, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν, δεησομένους ἀναδιδάξαι πρῶτον, μάλιστα μὲν ὡς καὶ ξύμφορα δέονται, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐπιζήμια, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἔξουσιν· εἰ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν σαφὲς καταστήσουσι, μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι ἦν ἀτυχῶσι. 2. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ ταῦτα πιστεύοντες ἐχυρὰ ὑμῖν παρέξεσθαι ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς. τετύχηκε δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτήδευμα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν χρείαν ἡμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀξύμφορον. 3. ξύμμαχοί τε γὰρ οὐδενός πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἐκούσιοι γενόμενοι νῦν ἄλλων τοῦτο δεησόμενοι ἤκομεν, καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον Κορινθίων ἐρήμοι δι' αὐτὸ καθέσταμεν. καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον σωφροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ ξυγκινδυνεύειν, νῦν ἀβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινομένη. 4. τὴν μὲν οὖν γενομένην ναυμαχίαν αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνας ἀπεωσάμεθα Κορινθίους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηνται καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι ὀρώμεν ὄντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δυνάμει περιγενέσθαι, καὶ ἅμα μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος, εἰ ἐσόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐπικουρίας δεῖσθαι. καὶ ξυγγνώμη, εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἀμαρτία τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἐναντία πολμῶμεν.

XXXIII.—1. Γενήσεται δὲ ὑμῖν πειθομένοις καλὴ ἡ ξυντυχία κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρείας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀδικουμένοις καὶ οὐχ ἑτέροις ἐλπίπτουσι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ποιήσεσθε, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδυνεύοντας

δεξάμενοι ὡς ἂν μάλιστα μετ' αἰμνήστου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθήσεσθε, ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πλείστον. 2. καὶ σκεψασθε τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα ἢ τίς τοῖς πολεμίοις λυπηροτέρα, εἰ ἢν ὑμεῖς ἂν πρὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ χάριτος ἐτιμήσασθε δύναμιν ὑμῖν προσγενέσθαι, αὕτη πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος, ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης διδούσα ἑαυτὴν καὶ προσέτι φέρουσα ἐς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετὴν, οἷς δὲ ἐπαμυνεῖτε χάριν, ὑμῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ἰσχύν· ἃ ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγοις δὴ ἅμα πάντα ξυνέβη, καὶ ὀλίγοι ξυμμαχίας δεόμενοι οἷς ἐπικαλοῦνται ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον οὐχ ἥσσον διδόντες ἢ ληψόμενοι παραγίγνονται. 3. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον, δι' ὅν περ χρήσιμοι ἂν εἴημεν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν μὴ οἶεται ἔσεσθαι, γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμῆσειοντας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους δυναμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροὺς ὄντας καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κοινῷ ἔχθῃ κατ' αὐτοὺς μετ' ἀλλήλων στῶμεν μηδὲ δυοῖν φθάσαι ἀμάρτωσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι· ἡμέτερον δ' αὖ ἔργον προτερῆσαι τῶν μὲν διδόντων, ὑμῶν δὲ δεξαμένων τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν.

XXXIV.—1. Ἦν δὲ λέγωσιν ὡς οὐ δίκαιον τοὺς σφετέρους ἀποίκους ὑμᾶς δέχεσθαι, μαθέτωσαν ὡς πᾶσα ἀποικία εὖ μὲν πάσχουσα τιμᾷ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριούται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται. 2. ὡς δὲ ἡδίκουν σαφές ἐστι. προκληθέντες γὰρ περὶ Ἐπιδάμνου ἐς κρίσιν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἴσῳ ἐβουλήθησαν τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετελθεῖν. καὶ ὑμῖν ἔστω τι τεκμήριον ἃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς δρῶσιν, ὥστε ἀπάτη τε μὴ παράγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, δεομένοις τέ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος μὴ ὑπουρ-

γεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐλαχίστας τὰς μεταμελείας ἐκ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις λαμβάνων ἀσφαλέστατος ἂν διατελοίη.

XXXV.—1. “ Λύσετε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς Λακεδαίμονίων σπονδὰς δεχόμενοι ἡμᾶς μηδετέρων ὄντας ξυμμάχους. εἴρηται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς, τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἥτις μηδαμοῦ ξυμμαχεῖ, ἐξεῖναι παρ’ ὁποτέρους ἂν ἀρέσκηται ἐλθεῖν. 2. καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τοῖσδε μὲν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἔσται πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑπηκόων, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης τε ξυμμαχίας εἵρξουσιν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ὠφελίας. εἴ τε ἐν ἀδικήματι θήσονται πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἀδεόμεθα, πολὺ δὴ ἐν πλείονι αἰτία ἡμεῖς μὴ πείσαντες ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν. 3. ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ οὐκ ἐχθροὺς ὄντας ἀπώσσεσθε, τῶνδὲ δὲ οὐχ ὅπως κωλυταὶ ἐχθρῶν ὄντων καὶ ἐπιόντων γενήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς δύναμιν προσλαβεῖν περιόψεσθε ἣν οὐ δίκαιον, ἀλλ’ ἢ κακείνων κωλύειν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας μισθοφόρους ἢ καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπειν καθ’ ὅτι ἂν πεισθῇτε ὠφελίαν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς δεξαμένους βοηθεῖν. 4. πολλὰ δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπέμπομεν, τὰ ξυμφέροντα ἀποδείκνυμεν, καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἳ τε αὐτοὶ πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἦσαν (ὅπερ σαφειστάτη πίστις), καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἱκανοὶ τοὺς μεταστάντας βλάψαι· καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ οὐκ ἡπειρώτιδος τῆς ξυμμαχίας διδομένης οὐχ ὁμοία ἢ ἀλλοτρίωσις, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν, εἰ δύνασθε, μηδένα ἄλλον εἶναι κεκτῆσθαι ναῦς, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅστις ἐχυρώτατος, τοῦτον φίλον ἔχειν.

XXXVI.—1. “ Καὶ ὅτω τάδε ξυμφέροντα μὲν δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, φοβεῖται δὲ μὴ δι’ αὐτὰ πειθόμενος τὰς σπονδὰς λύσῃ, γνῶτω τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἔχον τοὺς ἐναντίους μᾶλλον φοβῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν μὴ δεξαμένου ἀσθενὲς ὃν πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀδεέστερον ἐσό-

μενον, καὶ ἅμα οὐ περὶ τῆς Κερκύρας νῦν τὸ πλέειν ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν βουλευόμενος, καὶ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα αὐταῖς πεινοῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντα πολέμον τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν ἐνδοιάξῃ χωρίον προσλαβεῖν ὃ μετὰ μεγίστων καιρῶν οἰκειοῦται τε καὶ πολемоῦται. 2. τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κείται, ὥστε μήτε ἐκείθεν ναυτικὸν ἔασαι Πελοποννησίοις ἐπελθεῖν τό τε ἐνθένδε πρὸς τὰκεῖ παραπέμψαι, καὶ ἐς τὰλλα ξυμφορώτατόν ἐστι. βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ, τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, τῷδ' ἂν μὴ προέσθαι ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε. 3. τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἑλλησι ναυτικά, τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων· τούτων δ' εἰ περιόψεσθε τὰ δύο ἐς ταῦτον ἐλθεῖν καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἡμᾶς προκαταλήψονται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἅμα ναυμαχήσετε· δεξιόμενοι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔξετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλείοσι ναυσὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀγωνίζεσθαι." Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι εἶπον· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι μετ' αὐτοὺς τοιάδε.

XXXVII.—1. Ἀναγκαῖον Κερκυραίων τῶνδε οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῦ δέξασθαι σφᾶς τὸν λόγον ποιησαμένων, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, μνησθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἵεναι, ἵνα τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τε ἀξιώσιν ἀσφαλέστερον προειδῆτε καὶ τὴν τῶνδε χρεῖαν μὴ ἀλογίστως ἀπόσῃσθε. 2. Φασὶ δὲ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σῶφρον οὐδενός πω δέξασθαι· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ ἐπετήδευσαν, ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα βουλόμενοι πρὸς τὰδικήματα οὐδὲ μάρτυρά ἔχειν οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἅμα, αὐτάρκη θέσιν κειμένη, παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ὧν βλάπτουσί τινας μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ξυνηθείας γίνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας ἐκπλέοντας μάλιστα τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκη καταίροντας δέχεσθαι. 3. καὶν τούτῳ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπον-

δου οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ξυναδικήσωσιν ἐτέροις προβέβληνται, ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ νόνας ἀδικῶσι καὶ ὅπως ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν κρατῶσι βιάζωνται, οὗ δ' ἂν λάθωσι πλέον ἔχωσιν, ἣν δέ πού τι προσλάβωσιν ἀναισχυντῶσι. καίτοι εἰ ἦσαν ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ φασίν, ἀγαθοί, ὅσῳ ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν τοῖς πέλας, τοσῶδε φανερωτέραν ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν διδοῦσι καὶ δεχομένοις τὰ δίκαια δεικνύναι.

XXXVIII.—1. “ Ἄλλ' οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε ἐς ἡμᾶς τοιοῖδε εἰσίν, ἀποικοὶ δὲ ὄντες ἀφεστᾶσί τε διὰ παντὸς καὶ νῦν πολεμοῦσι, λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς πᾶσχειν ἐκπεμφθείσαν. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ φαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τούτων ὑβρίζεσθαι κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνες τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι. 2. αἱ γοῦν ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι τιμῶσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκῳ στεργόμεθα· καὶ δῆλον ὅτι, εἰ τοῖς πλέοσιν ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν, τοῖσδ' ἂν μόνοις οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαρέσκοιμεν, οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς μὴ καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἀδικούμενοι. 3. καλὸν δ' ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἡμαρτάνομεν, τοῖσδε μὲν εἶξαι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὀργῇ, ἡμῖν δὲ αἰσχυρὸν βιάσασθαι τὴν τούτων μετριότητα. ὕβρει δὲ καὶ ἐξουσία πλούτου πολλὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἄλλα τε ἡμαρτήκασι καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ἡμετέραν οὔσαν κακουμένην μὲν οὐ προσεποιοῦντο, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ ἐλόντες βία ἔχουσι.

XXXIX.—1. “ Καὶ φασὶ δίκη πρότερον ἐθελῆσαι κρίνεσθαι, ἣν γε οὐ τὸν προὔχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς προκαλούμενον λέγειν τι δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐς ἴσον τά τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς λόγους πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάντα. 2. οὗτοι δ' οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡγήσαντο ἡμᾶς οὐ περιόψεσθαι, τότε καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο· καὶ δεῦρο ἤκουσιν, οὐ τὰ κεῖ μόνον αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτύντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς νῦν ἀξιούντες οὐ ξυμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ξυναδικεῖν καὶ διαφόρους ὄντας ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι σφᾶς. 3. οὓς χρῆν, ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι

ἦσαν, τότε προσιέναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς μεν ἡδικήμεθα, οὗτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσιν, μηδ' ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τῆς τε δυνάμεως αὐτῶν τότε οὐ μεταλαμβάνοντες τῆς ὠφελίας νῦν μεταδώσετε, καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον ἔχετε, πάλαι δὲ κοινώσαντας τὴν δύναμιν κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν. †. ἐγκλ... κ.τ.λ.

XL.—1. “Ὡς μὲν οὖν αὐτοὶ τε μετὰ προσηκόντων ἐγκλημάτων ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἶδε βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσὶ δεδήλωται· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὺς δέχοισθε μαθεῖν χρή. 2. εἰ γὰρ εἴρηται ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὁποτέρους τις τῶν ἀγράφων πόλεων βούλεται ἐλθεῖν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ἐτέρων ἰοῦσιν ἢ ξυνθήκη ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅστις μὴ ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποστερῶν ἀσφαλείας δεῖται, καὶ ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονούσι, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσει. 3. ὁ νῦν ὑμεῖς μὴ πειθόμενοι ἡμῖν πάθοιτε ἄν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖσδε μόνον ἐπίκουροι ἂν γένοισθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντὶ ἐνσπόνδων πολέμιοι. ἀνάγκη γάρ, εἰ ἴτε μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ ἄνευ ὑμῶν τοιούτους. καίτοι δίκαιοί γ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα μὲν ἐκποδὼν στῆναι ἀμφοτέροις, εἰ δὲ μή, τούναντίον ἐπὶ τούτους μεθ' ἡμῶν ἵεναι (Κορινθίοις μὲν γε ἐνσπονδοὶ ἐστε, Κερκυραίοις δὲ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνακωχῆς πώποτ' ἐγένεσθε), καὶ τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι ὥστε τοὺς ἐτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαί. 4. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς Σαμίων ἀποστάντων ψῆφον ποσεθέμεθα ἐναντίαν ὑμῖν, τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων δίχα ἐψηφισμένων εἰ χρή αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, φανερώς δὲ ἀντείπομεν τοὺς προσήκοντας συμμαχοὺς αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν. εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακόν τι δρῶντας δεχόμενοι τιμωρήσετε, φανείται καὶ ἂ τῶν ὑμετέρων οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἡμῖν πρόσεισι, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῖν θήσετε.

XLI.—1. “Δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν, ἱκανὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων νόμους, παραινεσιν

δὲ καὶ ἀξίωσιν χάριτος τοιάνδε, ἣν οἱ κ' ἐχθοοὶ ὄντες ὥστε βλάπτειν οὐδ' αὖ φίλοι ὥστ' ἐπιχρῆσθαι, αντιδοθῆναι ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φάμεν χρήναι. 2. νεῶν γὰρ μακρῶν σπανίσαντές ποτε πρὸς τὸν Αἰγινητῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι ναῦς ἐλάβετε· καὶ ἡ εὐεργεσία αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ ἐς Σαμίους, τὸ δὲ ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίους αὐτοῖς μὴ βοηθῆσαι, παρέσχεεν ὑμῖν Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ἐπικράτησιν, Σαμίων δὲ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐν καιροῖς τοιούτοις ἐγένετο, οἷς μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντες τῶν πάντων ἀπερίοπτοί εἰσι παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν· φίλον τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸν ὑπουργοῦντα, ἣν καὶ πρότερον ἐχθρὸς ἦ, πολέμιόν τε τὸν ἀντιστάντα, ἣν καὶ τύχη φίλος ὢν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χεῖρον τίθενται φιλονεικίας· ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα.

XLII.—1. “Ὡν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ νεώτερός τις παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου αὐτὰ μαθὼν ἀξιούτω τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ νομίσῃ δίκαια μὲν τάδε λέγεσθαι, ξύμφορα δέ, εἰ πολεμήσει, ἄλλα εἶναι. 2. τό τε γὰρ ξυμφέρων ἐν ᾧ ἂν τις ἐλάχιστα ἁμαρτάνῃ μάλιστα ἔπεται, καὶ τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου ᾧ φοβούμεντες ὑμᾶς Κερκυραῖσι κελεύουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἐν ἀφανεί ἔτι κεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπαρθέντας αὐτῷ φανεράν ἔχθραν ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσιν πρὸς Κορινθίους κτήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον διὰ Μεγαρέας ὑποψίας σῶφρον ὑφελεῖν μᾶλλον· ἡ γὰρ τελευταία χάρις καιρὸν ἔχουσα, καὶ ἐλάσσων ἦ, δύναται μείζον ἔγκλημα λῦσαι. 3. μὴδ' ὅτι ναυτικοῦ ξυμμαχίαν μεγάλην διδῶσι, τούτῳ ἐφέλκεσθε· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐχυρωτέρα δύναμις ἢ τῷ αὐτίκα φανερῷ ἐπαρθέντας διὰ κινδύνων τὸ πλεόν ἔχειν.

XLIII.—1. “Ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπεπτωκότες οἷς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι ἀπὸ τοῦ προεῖπομεν, τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν, νῦν παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀξιούμεν κομιζέσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ ὠφεληθέντας τῇ

ὑμετέρα ἡμᾶς βλάβῃ. 2. τὸ δ' ἴσον ἀνταπόδοτε, γνόν-
τες τοῦτον ἐκείνον εἶναι τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε ὑπουργῶν
φίλος μάλιστα καὶ ὁ ἀντιστὰς ἐχθρὸς. καὶ Κερκυραίους
τούσδε μήτε ξυμμάχους δέχεσθε βία ἡμῶν μήτε ἀμύνετε
αὐτοῖς ἀδικοῦσι. καὶ τὰδε ποιοῦντες τὰ προσίκοντά τε
δράσετε καὶ τὰ ἄριστα βουλευέσεσθε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς." Τοι-
αῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον.

XLIV.—1. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων, γε-
νομένης καὶ δις ἐκκλησίας, τῇ μὲν προτέρα οὐχ ἦσσαν
τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραία
μετέγνωσαν Κερκυραίοις ξυμμαχίαν μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι
ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν (εἰ γὰρ
ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἐκέλευον σφίσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ξυμπλεῖν,
ἐλθοντ' ἂν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους σπονδαί),
ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ ἐποίησαντο τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν, εἴαν τις
ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἢ ἢ Ἀθήνας ἢ τοὺς τούτων ξυμμάχους.
2. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμος καὶ ὥς
ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐβούλοντο μὴ προέσθαι
Κορινθίοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν τοσοῦτον, ξυγκρούειν δὲ ὅτι
μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα ἀσθενεστέροις οὖσιν, ἦν
τι δέη, Κορινθίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν
ἐς πόλεμον καθιστῶνται. ἅμα δὲ τῆς τε Ἰταλίας καὶ
Σικελίας καλῶς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ἡ νῆσος ἐν παράπλῳ
κεῖσθαι.

XLV.—1. Τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς
Κερκυραίους προσεδέξαντο, καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπελ-
θόντων οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον δέκα ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν
βοηθοῦς. 2. ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιός τε ὁ
Κίμωνος καὶ Διότιμος ὁ Στρομβίχου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ
Ἐπικλέους. προεῖπον δὲ αὐτοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κοριν-
θίοις, ἦν μὴ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλέωσι καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀπο-
βαίνειν ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων· οὕτω δὲ κωλύειν
κατὰ δύναμιν. προεῖπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λυεῖν ἕνεκα

τὰς σπονδάς. αἱ μὲν δὲ νῆες ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν.

XLVI.—1. Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἦσαν δὲ Ἡλείων μὲν δέκα, Μεγαρέων δὲ δώδεκα καὶ Λευκαδίων δέκα, Ἀμπρακιωτῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ Ἀνακτορίων μία, αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ἐνενήκοντα. 2. στρατηγοὶ δὲ τούτων ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστων, Κορινθίων δὲ Ξενοκλείδης ὁ Εὐθυκλέους πέμπτος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσέμιζαν τῇ κατὰ Κέρκυραν ἡπείρῳ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πλέοντες, ὁρμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς. ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κείται ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ Ἐλαιάτιδι τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἐφύρη. 3. ἔξεισι δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν Ἀχερουσία λίμνη ἐς θάλασσαν. διὰ δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμός, ὀρίζων τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ὧν ἐντὸς ἡ ἄκρα ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέριον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι τῆς ἡπείρου ἐνταῦθα ὁρμίζονται τε καὶ τρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο.

XLVII.—1. Οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι ὥς ἦσθοντο αὐτοὺς προσπλέοντας, πληρώσαντες δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν ναῦς, ὧν ἦρχε Μεικιάδης καὶ Αἰσιμίδης καὶ Εὐρύβατος, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων αἱ καλοῦνται Σύβοτα· καὶ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ δέκα παρήσαν. 2. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ αὐτοῖς τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἦν καὶ Ζακυνθίων χίλιοι ὀπλίται βεβοηθηκότες. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων παραβεβοηθηκότες· οἱ γὰρ ταύτῃ ἡπειρῶται αἰεὶ ποτε αὐτοῖς φίλοι εἰσίν.

XLVIII.—1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο τοῖς Κορινθίοις, λαβόντες τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία ἀνήγοντο ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χειμερίου νυκτός, καὶ ἅμα ἔφ' πλέοντες καθορῶσι τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ναῦς μετεώρους τε καὶ

ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλεούσας. 2. ὥς δὲ κατεῖδον ἀλλήλους, ἀντι-
παρετάσσοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Κερκυραίων αἱ
Ἀττικαὶ νῆες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπέιχον, τρία τέλη
ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ὧν ἦρχε τριῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκάστου
εἷς. οὕτω μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἐτάξαντο. 3. Κορινθίοις δὲ τὸ
μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆες εἶχον καὶ αἱ Ἀμπρα-
κιώτιδες, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ὥς
ἐκάστοι, εὐώνυμον δὲ κέρας αὐτοὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ταῖς
ἄριστα τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαις κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ
δεξιὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων εἶχον.

XLIX.—1. Ξυμμίξαντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκα-
τέροις ἦρθη, ἐναυμάχουν, πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἔχοντες
ἀμφοτέροι ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων. πολλοὺς δὲ τοξότας
τε καὶ ἀκουτιστάς, τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ἀπειρότερον ἔτι
παρεσκευασμένοι. ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία καρτερά, τῇ μὲν
τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως, πεζομαχία δὲ τὸ πλεόν προσφερὴς
οὔσα. 2. ἐπειδὴ χάρ προσβάλλοιεν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ραδίως
ἀπελύοντο ὑπὸ τέ πλήθους καὶ ὄχλου τῶν νεῶν καὶ μάλ-
λόν τι πιστεύοντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀπλίταις
εἰς τὴν νίκην, οἱ καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο ἡσυχάζουσῶν τῶν
νεῶν. διέκπλοι δ' οὐκ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ τὸ
πλεόν ἐναυμάχουν ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ. 3. πανταχῇ μὲν οὖν
πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ ταραχώδης ἦν ἡ ναυμαχία, ἐν ᾗ αἱ
Ἀττικαὶ νῆες παραγιγνόμεναι τοῖς Κερκυραίοις, εἴ πῃ
πιέζοιnton, φόβον μὲν παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις, μάχης δὲ
οὐκ ἦρχον δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπόνει.
4. οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι εἴκοσι ναυσὶν αὐτοὺς τρεψάμενοι
καὶ καταδιώξαντες σποράδας εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον μέχρι τοῦ
στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκβάντες ἐνέπρη-
σάν τε τὰς σκηνὰς ἐρήμους καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν.
ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσώντό τε
καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπεκράτουν. 5. ἡ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ

Κορίνθιοι, ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, πολὺ ἐνίκων, τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως οὐ παρουσῶν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρώντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους πιεζομένους μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπροφασίστως ἐπεκούρουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεχόμενοι ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν τινί· 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνέκειντο οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τότε δὴ ἔργου πᾶς εἶχετο ἤδη καὶ διεκέκριτο οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ξυνέπεσεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὥστε ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις τοὺς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους.

L.—1. Τῆς δὲ προπῆς γενομένης οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὰ σκάφη μὲν οὐχ εἴλκον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν νεῶν ἅς καταδύσειαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν διεκπλέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ζωγρεῖν, τοὺς τε αὐτῶν φίλους, οὐκ αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι ἦσσηντο οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα, ἀγνοοῦντες ἔκτεινον. 2. πολλῶν γὰρ νεῶν οὐσῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ραδίως τὴν διύγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὅποιοι ἐκράτουν ἢ ἐκρατοῦντο· ναυμαχία γὰρ αὕτη Ἑλλησι πρὸς Ἑλλήνας νεῶν πλήθει μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γεγίνηται. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατεδίωξαν τοὺς Κερκυραίους οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐς τὴν γῆν, πρὸς τὰ νανάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἐτράποντο, καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐκράτησαν ὥστε προσκομίσαι πρὸς τὰ Σύβοτα, οἱ αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν βαρβάρων προσεβεβοηθήκει· ἔστι δὲ τὰ Σύβοτα τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος λιμὴν ἐρήμος. 4. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες αὐθις ἀθροισθέντες ἐπέπλεον τοῖς Κερκυραίοις. οἱ δὲ ταῖς πλωίμοις καὶ ὅσαι ἦσαν λοιπαὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντέπλεον, δείσαντες μὴ ἐς τὴν γῆν σφῶν πειρῶσιν ἀποβαίνειν. 5. ἤδη δὲ ἦν ὄψε· καὶ ἐπεπαιώνιστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο, κατιδόντες εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων προσπλευούσας, ἅς ὕστερον τῶν δέκα βοηθούς ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δείσαντες, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ

νικηθῶσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ αἱ σφέτεραι δέκα νῆες ὀλίγα ἀμύνειν ὦσι.

LI.—1. Ταύτας οὖν προιδόντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ ὑποτοπήσαντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν εἶναι, οὐχ ὅσας ἑώρων ἀλλὰ πλείους, ὑπανέχωρουν. τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις (ἐπέπλεον γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς) οὐχ ἑώρωντο καὶ ἐθαύμαζον τοὺς Κορινθίους πρύμναν κρονομένους, πρὶν τινες ἰδόντες εἶπον ὅτι νῆες ἐκείναι ἐπιπλέουσι. 2. τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνεχώρουν· ξυνεσκόταξε γὰρ ἤδη, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἀποτρεπόμενοι τὴν διάλυσιν ἐποίησαντο. οὕτω μὲν ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐγένετο ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. 3. τοῖς Κερκυραίοις δὲ στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμῃ αἱ εἴκοσι νῆες ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὐται, ὧν ἦρχε Γλαῦκων τε ὁ Λεαγόρου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου, διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ναυαγίων προσκομισθεῖσαι κατέπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἢ ὥφθησαν. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι (ἦν γὰρ νύξ) ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ πολέμια ὦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔγνωσαν καὶ ὠρμίσαντο.

LII.—1. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἀναγόμεναι αἶ τε Ἀττικάι τριάκοντα νῆες καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὅσαι πλώιμοι ἦσαν ἐπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Συβότοις λιμένα, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὥρμουν, βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι εἰ ναυμαχήσουσιν. 2. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ παραταξάμενοι μετεώρους ἡσύχαζον, ναυμαχίας οὐ διανοούμενοι ἄρχειν ἐκόντες, ὁρῶντες προσγεγενημένας τε ναῦς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀκραιφνεῖς καὶ σφίσι πολλὰ τὰ ἄπορα ξυμβεβηκότα, αἰχμαλώτων τε περὶ φυλακῆς, οὓς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶχον, καὶ ἐπισκευὴν οὐκ οὔσαν τῶν νεῶν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ. 3. τοῦ δὲ οἵκαδε πλοῦ μᾶλλον διεσκόπουν ὅπῃ κομισθήσονται, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς, διότι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, οὐκ ἑῷσι σφᾶς ἀποπλεῖν.

LIII.—1. Ἐδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐς κελήτιον

ἐσβιβάσαντας ἄνευ κηρυκίου προσπέμψαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πείραν ποιήσασθαι. πέμψαντές τε ἔλεγον τοιαῦδε· “ Ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολέμου ἄρχοντες καὶ σπονδὰς λύοντες· 2. ἡμῖν γὰρ πολεμίους τοὺς ἡμετέρους τιμωρουμένοις ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθε ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. εἰ δ’ ὑμῖν γνώμη ἐστὶ κωλύειν τε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἢ ἄλλοσε εἰ ποὶ βουλόμεθα πλεῖν καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύετε, ἡμᾶς τούσδε λαβόντες πρῶτον χρήσασθε ὡς πολεμίοις.” οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπον· 3. τῶν δὲ Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ὅσον ἐπήκουσεν ἀνεβόησεν εὐθὺς λαβεῖν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοιαῦδε ἀπεκρίναντο· 4. “ Οὔτε ἄρχομεν πόλεμον, ὦ ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, οὔτε τὰς σπονδὰς λύομεν, Κερκυραίοις δὲ τοῖσδε ξυμμάχοις οὖσι βοηθοὶ ἦλθομεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοσέ ποὶ βούλεσθε πλεῖν, οὐ κωλύομεν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλευσεῖσθε ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων, οὐ περιοψόμεθα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.”

LIV.—1. Τοιαῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποκριναμένων οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι τὸν τε πλοῦν τὸν ἐπ’ οἴκου παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Συβοτοῖς· 2. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὰ τε ναυάγια καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐξενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ ἀνέμου, ὃς γεγόμενος τῆς νυκτὸς διεσκέδασεν αὐτὰ πανταχῇ, καὶ τροπαῖον ἀντέστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Συβοτοῖς ὡς νενικηκότες. 3. γνώμη δὲ ἐκάτεροι τοιᾶδε τὴν νίκην προσεποιήσαντο· Κορίνθιοι μὲν κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ μέχρι νυκτός, ὥστε καὶ ναυάγια πλείστα καὶ νεκροὺς προσκομίσασθαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτους οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων ναῦς τε καταδύσαντες περὶ ἐβδουμήκοντα ἔστησαν τροπαῖον· 4. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τριάκοντα ναῦς μάλιστα διαφθείραντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον, ἀνελόμενοι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς τῇ τε προτεραιᾷ πρύμναν κρουόμενοι ὑπε-

χώρησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἰδόντες τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἀντέπλεον ἐκ τῶν Συβότων, διὰ ταῦτα τροπαῖον ἔστησαν, οὕτω μὲν ἐκάτεροι νικᾶν ἤξιουν.

LIV.—1. Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀποπλέοντες ἐπ' οἴκου Ἀνακτόριον, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, εἶλον ἀπάτῃ (ἣν δὲ κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων), καὶ καταστήσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ Κορινθίους οἰκήτορας ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. 2. καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὀκτακοσίους μὲν οἱ ἦσαν δοῦλοι ἀπέδοντο, πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ διακοσίους δῆσαντες ἐφύλασσαν καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον πολλῇ, ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀναχωρήσαντες προσποιήσιν· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους πρῶτοι ὄντες τῆς πόλεως. 3. ἡ μὲν οὖν Κέρκυρα οὕτω περιγίγνεται τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Κορινθίων, καὶ αἱ νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ αὐτῆς. αἰτία δὲ αὕτη πρώτη ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι σφίσιν ἐν σπονδαῖς μετὰ Κερκυραίων ἐνανυμάχουν.

LV.—1. Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εὐθὺς καὶ τάδε ξυνέβη γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις διάφορα ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. τῶν γὰρ Κορινθίων πρᾶσσόντων ὅπως τιμωρήσονται αὐτούς, ὑποτοπήσαντες τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Ποτιδαίτας, οἱ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης, Κορινθίων ἀποίκους, ἑαυτῶν δὲ ξυμμάχους φόρου ὑποτελεῖς, ἐκέλευον τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τείχος καθελεῖν καὶ ὁμήρους δοῦναι, τοὺς τε ἐπιδημιουργοὺς ἐκπέμπειν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ δέχεσθαι οὐς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμπον, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποστῶσιν ὑπὸ τε Περδίκκου πειθόμενοι καὶ Κορινθίων, τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐπὶ Θράκης ξυναποστήσωσι ξυμμάχους.

LVII.—1. Ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ποτιδαίτας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προπαρεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κερκύρα

ναυμαχίαν· οἳ τε γὰρ Κορίνθιοι φανερώς ἤδη διάφοροι ἦσαν, Περδίκκας τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ἐπεπολέμωτο ξύμμαχος πρότερον καὶ φίλος ὢν. 2. ἐπολεμώθη δέ, ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Δέρδα κοινῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐναντιουμένοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο. δεδιώς τε ἔπρασσε ἐς τε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πέμπων ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται αὐτοῖς πρὸς Πελοποννησίους, καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους προσεποιεῖτο τῆς Ποτιδαίας ἕνεκα ἀποστάσεως· 3. προσέφερε δὲ λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδεῦσι καὶ Βοττιαίοις ξυναποστήναι, νομίζων, εἰ ξύμμαχα ταῦτα ἔχοι ὅμορα ὄντα χωρία, ῥᾶον ἂν τὸν πόλεμον μετ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. 4. ὢν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀποστάσεις (ἔτυχον γὰρ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἀποστελλόντες καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ, Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' ἄλλων δέκα στρατηγούντος), ἐπιστέλλουσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν νεῶν Ποτιδαιατῶν τε ὁμήρους λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καθελεῖν, τῶν τε πλησίον πόλεων φυλακὴν ἔχειν ὅπως μὴ ἀποστήσονται.

LVIII.—1. Ποτιδαιᾶται δὲ πέμψαντες μὲν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, εἴ πως πείσειαν μὴ σφῶν πέρι νεωτερίζειν μηδὲν, ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα μετὰ Κορινθίων, [ἔπρασσον] ὅπως ἐτοιμάσαιτο τιμωρίαν, ἣν δέη, ἐπειδὴ ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ πράσσοντες οὐδὲν εὗροντο ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλ' αἱ νῆες αἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁμοίως ἔπλεον, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, ἣν ἐπὶ Ποτιδαίαν ἴωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀφίστανται μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων κοινῇ ξυνομόσαντες. 2. καὶ Περδίκκας πείθει Χαλκιδέας τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας καὶ καταβαλόντας ἀνοικίσασθαι ἐς Ὀλυμπον μίαν τε πόλιν ταύτην ἰσχυρὰν ποιήσασθαι. τοῖς τε ἐκλιποῦσι τούτοις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς

τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι, ἕως ἂν ὁ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος ᾗ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνγκίζοντό τε καθαιρούντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἐς πόλεμον παρεσκευάζοντο.

LIX.—1. Αἱ δὲ τριάκοντα νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν τε Ποτίδαιαν καὶ τᾶλλα ἀφεστηκότα. νομίσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀδύνατα εἶναι πρὸς τε Περδίκκαν πολεμεῖν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καὶ τὰ ξυναφεστῶτα χωρία τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐξεπέμποντο, καὶ καταστάντες ἐπολέμουν μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν Δέρδου ἀδελφῶν ἄνωθεν στρατιᾷ ἐσβεβληκότων.

LX.—1. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῆς Ποτιδαίας ἀφεστηκυίας καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν περὶ Μακεδονίαν οὐσῶν δεδιότες περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ οἰκεῖον τὸν κίνδυνον ἡγούμενοι πέμπουσιν ἑαυτῶν τε ἐθέλοντας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων μισθῷ πείσαντες ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τοὺς πάντας ὀπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς τετρακοσίους. 2. ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Ἀδειμάντου, κατὰ φιλίαν τε αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ πλείστοι ἐκ Κορίνθου στρατιῶται ἐθέλονται ζυνέσποντο· ἦν γὰρ τοῖς Ποτιδαιάταις αἰεὶ ποτε ἐπιτήδειος· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Θράκης ἢ Ποτίδαια ἀπέστη.

LXI.—1. Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθὺς ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι. καὶ πέμπουσιν, ὥς ᾗσθοντο καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἀριστέως ἐπιπαρόντας, δισχιλίους ἑαυτῶν ὀπλίτας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς πρὸς τὰ ἀφεστῶτα, καὶ Καλλιᾶν τὸν Καλλιάρχου πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν· 2. οἱ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς προτέρους χιλίους Θέρμην ἄρτι ἡρηκότας καὶ Πύδναν πολιορκούντας· προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Πύδναν ἐπολιόρκησαν μὲν, ἔπειτα δὲ

ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς κατήπειγεν ἡ Ποτίδαια καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς παρεληλυθώς, ἀπανίστανται ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροιαν κάκειθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες, καὶ πειράσαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου καὶ οὐχ ἐλόντες, ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν τρισχιλίοις μὲν ὀπλίταις ἑαυτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων πολλοῖς, ἵππεῦσι δὲ ἑξακοσίοις Μακεδόνων τοῖς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Πανσανίου· ἅμα δὲ νῆες παρέπλεον ἐβδομήκοντα. κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγνον καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο.

LXII.—1. Ποτιδαιᾶται δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Ἀριστεὺς Πελοποννήσιοι προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο πρὸς Ὀλύνθου ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίηντο. στρατηγὸν μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ παντὸς οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἤρηντο Ἀριστεύ, τῆς δὲ ἵππου Περδίκκαν· ἀπέστη γὰρ εὐθὺς πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ξυνεμάχει τοῖς Ποτιδαιαῖταις, Ἰόλαον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα. 2. ἦν δὲ ἡ γνώμη τοῦ Ἀριστεύς, τὸ μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἔχοντι ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιτηρεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἦν ἐπίωσι, Καλκιδέας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω ἰσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν παρὰ Περδίκκου διακοσίαν ἵππον ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μένειν, καὶ ὅταν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρῶσι, κατὰ νότου βοηθοῦντας ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. 3. Καλλίας δ' αὖ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς καὶ οἱ ξυνάρχοντες τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγους ἐπὶ Ὀλύνθου ἀποπέμπουσιν, ὅπως ἔργωσι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον τοὺς ἐναντίους παρασκευαζομένους ὡς ἐς μάχην, ἀντικαθίσταντο καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ξυνέμισγον, καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστεύς κέρας καὶ ὅσοι περὶ ἐκείνον ἦσαν Κορινθίων τε καὶ

τῶν ἄλλων λογάδες ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐπεξήλθον διώκοντες ἐπὶ πολὺ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον τῶν τε Ποτιδαιατῶν καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡσσάτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατέφυγεν.

LXIII.—1. Ἐπαναχωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως, ὡς ὁρᾷ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἡσσημένον, ἠπόρησε μὲν ὅποτέρωσε διακινδυνεύσει χωρήσας, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλύμβου ἢ ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· ἔδοξε δ' οὖν ξυναγαγόντι τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον δρόμῳ βιάσασθαι ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, καὶ παρήλθε παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἀποβαλὼν, τοὺς δὲ πλείους σώσας. 2. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀλύμβου τοῖς Ποτιδαιαταῖς βοηθοί (ἀπείχε δὲ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίου καὶ ἔστι καταφανές), ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἦρθη, βραχὺ μὲν τι προῆλθον ὡς βοηθήσοντας, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἱππῆς ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὡς κωλύσοντας· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τάχους ἡ νίκη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατεσπᾶσθη, πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. 3. ἱππῆς δ' οὐδετέροις παρεγένοντο. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τροπαῖον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν τοῖς Ποτιδαιαταῖς. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ποτιδαιατῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Καλλιᾶς ὁ στρατηγός.

LXIV.—1. Τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος εὐθὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτείχισαντες ἐφρούρουν· τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἔν τε τῷ ἰσθμῷ φρουρεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην διαβάντες τειχίζειν, δεδιότες μὴ σφίσιν οἱ Ποτιδαιᾶται καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι γιγνομένοις δίχα ἐπιδῶνται. καὶ πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον οὔσαν, χρόνῳ ὕστερον πέμπουσιν ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἑαυτῶν

καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίου στρατηγόν· 2. ὃς ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην καὶ ἐξ Ἀφύτιος ὁρμώμενος προσήγαγε τῇ Ποτιδαίᾳ τὸν στρατόν, κατὰ βραχὺ προῖων καὶ κείρων ἅμα τὴν γῆν· ὥς δ' οὐδείς ἐπέξῃει ἐς μάχην, ἀπετείχισε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης τεῖχος· καὶ οὕτως ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἢ Ποτίδαια ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐφορμούσαις.

LXV.—1. Ἀριστεὺς δὲ ἀποτειχισθείσης αὐτῆς καὶ ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν ἔχων σωτηρίας, ἣν μὴ τι ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἢ ἄλλο παρὰ λόγον γίγνηται, ξυμβούλευε μὲν πλὴν πεντακοσίων ἄνεμον τηρήσασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπλεῦσαι, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ σῖτος ἀντίσχη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤθελε τῶν μενόντων εἶναι· ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθε, βουλόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις παρασκευάζειν καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἔξωθεν ἔξει ὡς ἄριστα, ἐκπλοῦν ποιεῖται λαθὼν τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων· 2. καὶ παραμένων ἐν Χαλκιδεύσει τά τε ἄλλα ξυνεπολέμει καὶ Σερμυλίων λοχήσας πρὸς τῇ πόλει πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν, ἔς τε τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔπρασσευ ὅπῃ ὠφελία τις γενήσεται. μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ποτιδαίας τὴν ἀποτείχισιν Φορμίων μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ Βοττικὴν ἐδῆου καὶ ἔστιν ἂ καὶ πολίσματα εἶλεν.

LXVI.—1. Τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις αἰτίαι μὲν αὗται προεγεγένηντο ἐς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς μὲν Κορινθίοις ὅτι τὴν Ποτίδαιαν ἑαυτῶν οὖσαν ἀποικίαν καὶ ἄνδρας Κορινθίων τε καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντας ἐπολιόρκουν, τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ὅτι ἑαυτῶν τε πόλιν ξυμμαχίδα καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῇ ἀπέστησαν καὶ ἐλθόντες σφίσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐμίχοντο μετὰ Ποτιδαιατῶν. οὐ μὲντοι ὅ γε πόλεμός πω ξυνεῤῥώγει, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀνοκωχὴ ἦν· ἰδίᾳ γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔπραξαν.

LXVII.—1. Πολιορκουμένης δὲ τῆς Ποτιδαίας οὐχ

ήσύχαζον, ἀνδρῶν τε σφίσιν ἐνόντων καὶ ἅμα περὶ τῇ χωρίῳ δεδιότες· παρεκάλουν τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ κατεβόων ἐλθόντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι σπονδὰς τε λελυκότες εἶεν καὶ ἀδικοῖεν τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 2. Αἰγινῆται τε φανερώς μὲν οὐ πρεσβεύόμενοι, δεδιότες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, κρύφα δέ, οὐχ ἥκιστα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνήγον τὸν πόλεμον, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναι αὐτόνομοι κατὰ τὰς σπονδὰς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσπαρακαλέσαντες τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ εἰ τίς τι ἄλλο ἔφη ἡδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσαντες τὸν εἰωθότα λέγειν ἐκέλευον. 3. καὶ ἄλλοι τε παριοντες ἐγκλήματα ἐποιοῦντο ὡς ἕκαστοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς, δηλοῦντες μὲν καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα διάφορα, μάλιστα δὲ λιμένων τε εἵργεσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγορᾶς παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς. παρελθόντες δὲ τελευταῖοι οἱ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσάντες πρῶτον παροξύναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπέειπον τοιαῦδε.

LXVIII.—1. “Τὸ πιστὸν ὑμᾶς. ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολιτείας καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀπιστοτέρους ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἣν τι λέγωμεν, καθίστησι· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχετε, ἀμαθία δὲ πλέονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξω πράγματα χρῆσθε. 2. πολλὰ κίς γὰρ προαγορευόντων ἡμῶν ἃ ἐμελλομεν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων βλάπτεσθαι, οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐδιδάσκομεν ἐκάστοτε τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ τῶν λεγόντων μᾶλλον ὑπενοεῖτε ὡς ἔνεκεν τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδία διαφόρων λέγουσι· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐ πρὶν πᾶσχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐσμέν, τοὺς ξυμμάχους τούσδε παρεκαλέσατε, ἐν οἷς προσήκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰπεῖν ὅσῳ καὶ μεγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν, ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀθηναίων ὑβριζόμενοι, ὑπὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελούμενοι. 3. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀφανεῖς που ὄντες ἡδίκουν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διδασκαλίας ἂν ὡς οὐκ εἰδύσι προσέδει· νῦν δὲ τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν δεδουλωμένους ὁράτε, τοῖς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας

αὐτοὺς, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ξυμμάχοις, καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ προπαρεσκευασμένους, εἴ ποτε πολεμήσονται ; 4. οὐ γὰρ ἂν Κέρκυράν τε ὑπολαβόντες βία ἡμῶν εἶχον καὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἐπολιόρκουν· ὦν τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀποχρῆσθαι, ἢ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἂν μέγιστον παρέσχε Πελοποννησίους.

LXIX.—1. “ Καὶ τῶνδε ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι, τό τε πρῶτον εἰσάυτες αὐτοὺς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ κρατῦναι καὶ ὕστερον τὰ μακρὰ στήσαι τείχη, ἐς τόδε τε αἰεὶ ἀποστεροῦντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπ’ ἐκείνων δεδουλωμένους ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἤδη ξυμμάχους. 2. οὐ γὰρ ὁ δουλωσαμενος, ἀλλ’ ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παῦσαι, περιορῶν δὲ ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸ δρᾶ, εἶπερ καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὥς ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρεται. μόλις δὲ νῦν γε ξυνήλθομεν καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ φανεροῖς. χρὴν γὰρ οὐκ εἰ ἀδικούμεθα ἔτι σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθότι ἀμυνόμεθα· οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὐ διεγνωκότας ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες ἐπέρχονται. 3. καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα οἷα ὁδῶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ’ ὀλίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας· καὶ λανθάνειν μὲν οἰόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀναίσθητον ὑμῶν ἦσσαν θαρσοῦσι, γνόντες δὲ εἰδότας περιορᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐγκείσονται. ἡσυχάζετε μὲν γὰρ μόνοι Ἑλλήνων, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τινά, ἀλλὰ τῇ μελλήσει ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, διπλασιουμένην δὲ καταλύοντες. 4. καίτοι ἐλέγεσθε ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι, ὦν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει. τόν τε γὰρ Μῆδον αὐτοὶ ἴσμεν ἐκ περάτων γῆς πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλθόντα ἢ τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀξίως προαιπαντῆσαι, καὶ νῦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἐκάς, ὥσπερ ἐκείνον, ἀλλ’ ἐγγὺς ὄντας περιοράτε, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοὶ ἀμύνεσθαι βούλεσθε μᾶλλον ἐπιόντας καὶ ἐς τύχας πρὸς πολλῶ δυνατωτέρους ἀγωνιζόμενοι καταστῆναι, ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ τὰ

πλείω σφαλέντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ὑμῶν τιμωρία περιγεγενημένους· 5. ἐπεὶ αἱ γε ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες ἤδη τινὰς που καὶ ἀπαρασκεύους διὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι ἔφθειραν. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἔχθρα τὸ πλεόν ἢ αἰτία νομίση τάδε λέγεσθαι· αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἁμαρτανόντων, κατηγορία δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀδικησάντων.

LXX.—1. “Καὶ ἅμα, εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἄξιοι νομίζομεν εἶναι τοῖς πέλας ψόγον ἐπενεγκεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μεγάλων τῶν διαφερόντων καθεστῶτων, περὶ ὧν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἡμῖν γε δοκεῖτε οὐδ' ἐκλογίσασθαι πώποτε πρὸς οἷους ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ὅσον ὑμῶν καὶ ὡς πᾶν διαφέροντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. 2. οἱ μὲν γε νεωτεροποιοὶ καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ ὃ ἂν γνῶσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τὰναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι. αὖθις δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πρᾶξαι τῆς τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι τῶν τε δεινῶν μηδέποτε οἶεσθαι ἀπολυθήσεσθαι. 3. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄοκνοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μελλήτας καὶ ἀποδημηταὶ πρὸς ἐνδημοτάτους· οἴονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ ἂν τι κτᾶσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐτοῖμα ἂν βλάψαι. κρατοῦντές τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξέρχονται καὶ νικώμενοι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀναπίπτουσιν. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρῶνται, τῇ γνώμῃ δὲ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πρῶσσειν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. 4. καὶ ἃ μὲν ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐπεξέλθωσιν οἰκεῖα στέρεσθαι ἡγοῦνται, ἃ δ' ἂν ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα τυχεῖν πράξαντες. ἦν δ' ἄρα του καὶ πείρα σφαλῶσιν, ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρεῖαν. μόνοι γὰρ ἔχουσιν τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἃ ἂν ἐπινοήσωσι διὰ τὸ ταχεῖαν

τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι ὧν ἂν γνῶσι. 5. καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων δι' ὅλου τοῦ αἰῶνος μοχθοῦσι, καὶ ἀπολαύουσιν ἐλάχιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κτᾶσθαι καὶ μήτε ἐορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράξαι, ξυμφορὰν τε οὐχ ἥσσον ἡσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα ἢ ἀσχολίαν ἐπίπονον· ὥστε εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ξυνελὼν φαίη πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους εἶναι, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι.

LXXI.—1. “Ταύτης μέντοι τοιαύτης ἀντικαθεστηκυίας πόλεως, ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διαμέλλετε καὶ οἶσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀρκεῖν, οἳ ἂν τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ δίκαια πρίσσωσι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ, ἣν ἀδικῶνται, δῆλοι ὧσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἴσον νέμετε. 2. μόλις δ' ἂν πόλει ὁμοίᾳ παροικοῦντες ἐτυγχάνετε τούτου· νῦν δ' ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐδηλώσαμεν, ἀρχαιοτρόπα ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐστίν. ἀνάγκη δὲ ὥσπερ τέχνης ἀεὶ τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα κρατεῖν. καὶ ἡσυχάζουσῃ μὲν πόλει τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα ἄριστα, πρὸς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοις ἰέναι πολλῆς καὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεως δεῖ. 3. διόπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπειρίας ἐπὶ πλεόν ὑμῶν κεκαίνονται. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦδε ὠρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτής· νῦν δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ποτιδαίαιταις, ὥσπερ ὑπεδέξασθε, βοηθήσατε κατὰ τάχος ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἵνα μὴ ἄνδρας τε φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τοῖς ἐχθίστοις προῆσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθυμία πρὸς ἑτέραν τιὰ ξυμμαχίαν τρέψητε. 4. δρῶμεν δ' ἂν ἀδικον οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν τῶν ὀρκίων οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων· λύουσι γὰρ σπονδὰς οὐχ οἱ δι' ἐρημίαν ἄλλοις προσιόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ βοηθοῦντες οἷς ἂν ξυνομόσωσι· βουλομένων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμων εἶναι μενούμεν· οὔτε γὰρ

ὅσια ἂν ποιοῖμεν μεταβαλλόμενοι οὔτε ξυνηθεστέρους ἂν ἄλλους εὖροιμεν· πρὸς τὰδε βουλευέσθε εὖ, καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῖν παρέδωκαν.”

LXXII.—1. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι περὶ ἄλλων παρούσα, καὶ ὡς ἦσθοντο τῶν λόγων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς παριτητέα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ἐγκλημάτων πέρι μηδὲν ἀπολογησομένων, ὧν αἱ πόλεις ἐνεκάλουν, δηλῶσαι δὲ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ὡς οὐ ταχέως αὐτοῖς βουλευτέον εἴη, ἀλλ’ ἐν πλείονι σκεπτέον. 2. καὶ ἅμα τὴν σφετέραν πόλιν ἐβούλοντο σημῆναι ὅση εἴη δύναμις, καὶ ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις ὧν ἦδεσαν καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἐξήγησιν ὧν ἄπειροι ἦσαν, νομίζοντες μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν λόγων πρὸς τὸ ἡσυχάζειν τραπέσθαι ἢ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν. προσελθόντες οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφασαν βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι μὴ ἀποκωλύει. οἱ δ’ ἐκέλευόν τε ἐπιέναι, καὶ παρελθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

LXXIII.—1. “Ἡ μὲν πρέσβευσις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ξυμμάχοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν ἡ πόλις ἔπεμψεν· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ καταβοὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὔσαν ἡμῶν παρήλθομεν, οὐ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι τῶν πόλεων ἀντεροῦντες (οὐ γὰρ παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε τούτων οἱ λόγοι ἂν γίνονιντο), ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ ῥαδίως περὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων τοῖς ξυμμάχοις πειθόμενοι χεῖρον βουλευέσθητε, καὶ ἅμα βυλόμενοι περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λόγου τοῦ ἐς ἡμᾶς καθεστῶτος δηλῶσαι ὡς οὔτε ἀπεικότως ἔχομεν ἂ κεκτῆμεθα, ἢ τε πόλις ἡμῶν ἀξία λόγου ἐστίν. 2. καὶ τὰ μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὧν ἀκοαὶ μᾶλλον λόγων μάρτυρες ἢ ὄψις τῶν ἀκουσομένων; τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι’ ὄχλου μᾶλλον

ἔσται αἰὲν προβαλλομένοις, ἀνάγκη λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἔδρῳμεν, ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο, ἧς τοῦ μὲν ἔργου μέρος μετέσχετε, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μὴ παντός, εἴ τι ὠφελεί, στερισκώμεθα. ῥηθήσεται δὲ οὐ παραιτήσεως μᾶλλον ἔνεκα ἢ μαρτυρίου καὶ δηλώσεως πρὸς οἷαν ὑμῖν πόλιν μὴ εὖ βουλευομένοις ὁ ἀγὼν καταστήσεται. 3. φαμὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνί τε μόνοι προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ καὶ ὅτε τὸ ὕστερον ἦλθεν, οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ὄντες κατὰ γῆν ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς πανδημεῖ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ξυνναυμαχῆσαι, ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐπιπλέοντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων πρὸς ναῦς πολλὰς ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον αὐτὸς ἐποίησε· νικηθεὶς γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὥς οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίας οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλέουι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησε·

LXXIV.—1. “Τοιούτου μέντοι ξυμβάντος τούτου καὶ σαφῶς δηλωθέντος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα, ἀριθμὸν τε νεῶν πλείστον καὶ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνετώτατον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀοκνοτάτην· ναῦς μὲν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους [τῶν] δύο μοιρῶν, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἄρχοντα, ὃς αὐτώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα· καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὥς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων. 2. προθυμίαν δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην ἐδείξαμεν, οἳ γε, ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν οὐδεὶς ἐβοήθει, τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη μέχρι ἡμῶν δουλευόντων ἠξιώσαμεν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ οἰκεία διαφθείραντες μὴδ' ὥς τὸ τῶν περιλοίπων ξυμμάχων κοινὸν προλιπεῖν μὴδὲ σκεδασθέντες ἀχρεῖοι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς κινδυνεύσαι καὶ μὴ ὀργισθῆναι ὅτι ἡμῖν οὐ προετιμωρησατε. ὥστε φαμὲν οὐχ ἦσσαν αὐτοὶ ὠφελῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἢ τυχεῖν τούτου. 3. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ

ἀπό τε οἰκουμένων τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ λοιπὸν νέμεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐδείσατε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ πλεόν, ἐβοηθήσατε· ὅτε γοῦν ἡμεν ἔτι σῶοι, οὐ παρεγέ-
νεσθε· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπό τε τῆς οὐκ οὔσης ἔτι ὀρμώμενοι καὶ
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν βραχείᾳ ἐλπίδι οὔσης κινδυνεύοντες ξυνεσώ-
σαμεν ὑμᾶς τε τὸ μέρος καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. 4. εἰ δὲ προσ-
εχωρήσαμεν πρότερον τῷ Μήδῳ, δείσαντες, ὥσπερ καὶ
ἄλλοι, περὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ μὴ ἐτολήσαμεν ὕστερον ἐσβῆναι
ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὡς διεφθαρμένοι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι ἔδει ὑμᾶς μὴ
ἔχοντας ναῦς ἱκανὰς ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἂν
αὐτῷ προεχώρησε τὰ πράγματα ἢ ἐβούλετο.

LXXV.—1. “Ἀρ’ ἄξιοί ἐσμεν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
καὶ προθυμίας ἔνεκα τῆς τότε καὶ γνώμης ξυνέσεως ἀρχῆς
γε ἧς ἔχομεν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως
διακεῖσθαι; καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τήνδε ἐλάβομεν οὐ βιασάμε-
νοι, ἀλλ’ ὑμῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐθελησάντων παραυεῖναι πρὸς τὰ
ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἡμῖν δὲ προσελθόντων τῶν
ξυμμάχων καὶ αὐτῶν δεηθέντων ἡγεμόνας καταστήναι.
2. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου κατηναγκάσθημεν τὸ πρῶτον
προαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς τόδε, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, ἔπειτα
δὲ καὶ τιμῆς, ὕστερον καὶ ὠφελίας. καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔτι
ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπηχθημένους καὶ τινων καὶ
ἤδη ἀποστάντων κατεστραμμένων ὑμῶν τε ἡμῖν οὐκέτι
ὁμοίως φίλων, ἀλλ’ ὑπόπτων καὶ διαφόρων ὄντων ἀνεί-
τας κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἱ ἀποστάσεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς
ἐγίγνοντο. πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον, τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῶν
μεγίστων πέρι κινδύνων εὖ τίθεσθαι.

LXXVI.—1. “Ὑμεῖς γοῦν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὰς
ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον κατα-
στησάμενοι ἐξηγείσθε· καὶ εἰ τότε ὑπομείναντες διὰ παν-
τὸς ἀπήχθησθε ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, εὖ ἴσμεν μὴ
ἂν ἦσσαν ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ
ἰναγκασθέντας ἂν ἢ ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ αὐτοὺς κινδινεύ-

ειν. 2. οὕτως οὐδ' ἡμεῖς θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν πεποιήκαμεν οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου, εἰ ἀρχὴν τε διδομένην ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνείμεν, ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων νικηθέντες, τιμῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ὠφελίας, οὐδ' αὖ πρῶτοι τοῦ τοιούτου ὑπάρξαντες, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καθεστῶτος τὸν ἥσσω ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου κατείργεσθαι, ἄξιοί τε αἶα νομίζοντες εἶναι καὶ ὑμῖν δοκοῦντες, μέχρι οὗ τὰ ξυμφέροντα λογιζόμενοι τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρήσθε, ὃν οὐδεὶς πω παραπετραυχὸν ἰσχύι τι κτήσασθαι προθεὶς τοῦ μὴ πλεόν ἔχειν ἀπετράπετο. 3. ἐπαινείσθαι τε ἄξιοι, οἵτινες χρησάμενοι τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει ὥστε ἑτέρων ἄρχειν δικαιότεροι ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν γεγένηται. ἄλλους γ' ἂν οὖν οἴομεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἂν μάλιστα εἴ τι μετριάζομεν, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἀδοξία τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἔπαινος οὐκ εἰκότως περιέσθη.

LXXVII.—1. “Καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν. καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν, τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοθί που ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι καὶ ἥσσον ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μετρίοις οὖσι διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται· βιάζεσθαι γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐξῇ, δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται. 2. οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλεῖν, ἣν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἶεσθαι χρῆναι ἢ γνώμῃ ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἐλασσωθῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον φανερώς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν. ἐκείνως δ' οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐ χρεὼν τὸν ἥσσω τῷ κρατοῦντι ὑποχωρεῖν. ἀδικούμενοί τε, ὥς ἔοικεν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται ἢ βιαζόμενοι. 3. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου δοκεῖ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείσσονος καταναγκάζεσθαι. ὑπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μήδου δεινότερα τούτων πάσχοντες ἠνείχοντο, ἢ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἀρχὴ χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰκότως· τὸ παρὸν γὰρ αἰεὶ βαρὺ τοῖς

ὑπηκόοις. 4. ὑμεῖς γ' ἂν οὖν εἰ καθελόντες ἡμᾶς ἄρξαιτε, τάχα ἂν τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν διὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος εἰλήφατε μεταβάλοιτε, εἵπερ οἶα καὶ τότε πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον δι' ὀλίγοι ἡγησάμενοι ὑπεδείξατε, ὁμοῖα καὶ νῦν γνώσεσθε. ἄμικτα γὰρ τὰ τε καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχετε καὶ προσετι εἰς ἕκαστος ἐξίων οὔτε τούτοις χρῆται οὔθ' οἷς ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς νομίζει.

LXXVIII.—1. “Βουλευέσθε οὖν βραδέως ὥς οὐ περὶ βραχέων, καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτρίαις γνώμας καὶ ἐγκλήμασι πεισθέντες οἰκείον πόνον προσθήσθε. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τὸν παράλογον ὅσος ἐστὶ πρὶν ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι προδιάγνωτε. 2. μηχανόμενος γὰρ ἐς τύχας φιλεῖ τὰ πολλὰ περιίστασθαι, ὧν ἴσον τε ἀπέχουμεν καὶ ὁποτέρως ἔσται ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυνεύεται. ἰόντες τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τῶν ἔργων πρότερον ἔχονται, ἢ χρῆν ὕστερον δρᾶν, κακοπαθοῦντες δὲ ἤδη τῶν λόγων ἄπτονται. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ πω τοιαύτῃ ἀμαρτίᾳ ὄντες οὔτ' αὐτοὶ οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ὁρῶντες λέγομεν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἔτι αὐθαίρετος ἀμφοτέροις ἡ εὐβουλία, σπονδὰς μὴ λύειν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκη λύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ξυνθήκην· εἰ δὲ μή, θεοὺς τοὺς ὀρκίους μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι πειρασόμεθα ἀμύνεσθαι πολέμου ἄρχοντας ταύτῃ ἢ ἂν ὑφηγῆσθε.”

LXXIX.—1. Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐγκλήματα τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἃ ἔλεξαν, μεταστησάμενοι πάντας ἐβουλευόντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν παρόντων· καὶ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αἰγνώματι ἔφερον, ἀδικεῖν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤδη καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι ἐν τάχει· παρελθὼν δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ καὶ ξυνετὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ σώφρων, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

LXXX.—1. “Καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων ἔμ-

πειρός εἰμι, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὀρώ, ὥστε μήτε ἀπειρία ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινα τοῦ ἔργου, ὅπερ ἂν οἱ πολλοὶ πάθουεν, μήτε ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς νομίσαντα. εὗροιτε δ' ἂν τόνδε περὶ οὗ νῦν βουλεύεσθε οὐκ ἂν ἐλάχιστον γενόμενον, εἰ σωφρόνως τις αὐτὸν ἐκλογίζοιτο. 2. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας παρόμοιος ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκή, καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἶόν τε ἐφ' ἑκάστα ἐλθεῖν· πρὸς δὲ ἄνδρας οἱ γῆν τε ἐκὰς ἔχουσι καὶ προσέτι θαλάσσης ἐμπειρότατοί εἰς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄριστα ἐξήρτυνται, πλούτῳ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ὄχλῳ ὅσος οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐνὶ γε χωρίῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐστίν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ξυμμάχους πολλοὺς φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔχουσι, πῶς χρὴ πρὸς τούτους ῥαδίως πόλεμον ἄρασθαι καὶ τίνι πιστεύσαντας ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπειχθῆναι; πρότερον ταῖς ναυσὶν; ἀλλ' ἥσους ἐσμέν· εἰ δὲ μελετήσομεν καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευασόμεθα, χρόνος ἐνέσται. ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν; ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἔτι πλεόν τούτῳ ἐλλείπομεν καὶ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὔτε ἐτοίμως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φέρομεν.

LXXXI.—1. “Τάχ' ἂν τις θαρσοίη ὅτι τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει ὑπερφέρομεν, ὥστε τὴν γῆν δηοῦν ἐπιφοιτῶντες. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλη γῇ ἐστὶ πολλὴ ἥς ἄρχουσι, καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ὧν δέονται ἐπάξονται. εἰ δ' αὖ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφιστάναι πειρασόμεθα, δεήσει καὶ τούτοις ναυσὶ βοηθεῖν, τὸ πλεόν οὔσι νησιώταις. 2. τίς οὖν ἔσται ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος; εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἢ ναυσὶ κρατήσομεν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἀφαιρήσομεν ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ναυτικὸν τρέφουσι, βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλέω. κὰν τούτῳ οὐδὲ καταλύεσθαι ἔτι καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ δόξομεν ἄρξαι μᾶλλον τῆς διαφορᾶς. μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνῃ γε τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρώμεθα ὥς ταχὺ παυθήσεται ὁ πόλεμος, ἣν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τάμωμεν. δέδοικα δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ὑπολίπωμεν’

οὕτως εἰκὸς Ἀθηναίους φρονήματι μήτε τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι μήτε ὥσπερ ἀπείρους καταπλαγῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ.

LXXXII.—1. “ Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀναισθήτως αὐτοὺς κελεύω τοὺς τε ξυμμάχους ἡμῶν ἐὰν βλάπτειν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὴ καταφωρᾶν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μὲν μήπω κινεῖν, πέμπειν δὲ καὶ αἰτιᾶσθαι μήτε πόλεμον ἄγαν δηλοῦντας μήθ’ ὥς ἐπιτρέψομεν, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐξαρτῦεσθαι ξυμμάχων τε προσαγωγῇ καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, εἴ ποθέν τινα ἢ ναυτικοῦ ἢ χρημάτων δύναμιν προσληψόμεθα (ἀνεπίφθονον δέ, ὅσοι ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλευόμεθα, μὴ Ἑλληνας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους προσλαβόντας διασωθῆναι), καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐκποριζώμεθα. 2. καὶ ἣν μὲν ἐσακούσωσί τι πρεσβενομένων ἡμῶν, ταῦτα ἄριστα· ἣν δὲ μή, διελθόντων ἐτῶν καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν ἄμεινον ἤδη, ἣν δοκῇ, πεφραγμένοι ἴμεν ἐπ’ αὐτούς. καὶ ἴσως ὀρώντες ἡμῶν ἤδη τήν τε παρασκευὴν καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῇ ὁμοῖα ὑποσημαίνοντας μᾶλλον ἢ εἴκοιεν, καὶ γῆν ἔτι ἄτμητον ἔχοντες καὶ περὶ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐπω ἐφθαρμένων βουλευόμενοι. 3. μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νομίσητε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἢ ὄμηρον ἔχειν καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον ὅσῳ ἄμεινον ἐξείργασται· ἧς φεῖδεσθαι χρὴ ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον. καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀληπτοτέρους ἔχειν. 4. εἰ γὰρ ἀπαράσκειοι τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐγκλήμασιν ἐπειχθέντες τεμοῦμεν αὐτήν. ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ αἰσχίον καὶ ἀπορώτερον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πράξωμεν. ἐγκλήματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν οἶόν τε καταλῦσαι· πόλεμον δὲ ξύμπαντας ἀραμένους ἕνεκα τῶν ἰδίων, ὃν οὐχ ὑπάρχει εἰδέναι καθ’ ὅτι χωρήσει, οὐ ράδιον εὐπρεπῶς θέσθαι.

LXXXIII.—1. “ Καὶ ἀνανδρία μηδενὶ πολλοὺς μιᾷ πόλει μὴ ταχὺ ἐπελθεῖν δοκείτω εἶναι. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐλάσσους χρήματα φέροντες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ

ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλεόν, ἀλλὰ δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡπειρώταις πρὸς θαλασσίους. 2. πορισώμεθα οὖν πρῶτον αὐτήν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων λόγοις πρότερον ἐπαιρώμεθα, οἵπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλεόν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῆς αἰτίας ἔξομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προῖδωμεν.

LXXXIV.—1. “ Καὶ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον, ὃ μέμφονται μάλιστα ἡμῶν, μὴ αἰσχύνεσθε· σπεύδοντές τε γὰρ σχολαίτερον ἂν παύσαισθε διὰ τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι ἐγχειρεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐλευθέραν καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτην πόλιν διὰ παντὸς νεμόμεθα· 2. καὶ δύναται μάλιστα σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων τοῦτ' εἶναι. μόνοι γὰρ δι' αὐτὸ εὐπραγίαις τε οὐκ ἐξυβρίζομεν καὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἥσσον ἐτέρων εἴκομεν, τῶν τε ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἐξοτρυνόντων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπαιρόμεθα ἡδονῇ, καὶ ἦν τις ἄρα ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ παροξύνη, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀχθεσθέντες ἀνεπίεσθημεν. 3. πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ εὖβουλοι διὰ τὸ εὖκοσμον γιγνόμεθα, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐψυχία, εὖβουλοι δὲ ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδευόμενοι καὶ ξὺν χαλεπότητι σωφρονέστερον ἢ ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνηκουστεῖν, καὶ μὴ τὰ ἀχρεῖα ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν ὄντες, τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευὰς λόγῳ καλῶς μεμφόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξιέναι, νομίζειν δὲ τὰς τε διανοίας τῶν πέλας παραπλησίους εἶναι καὶ τὰς προσπιπτούσας τύχας οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς. 4. αἰεὶ δὲ ὡς πρὸς εὖ βουλευομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔργῳ παρασκευαζώμεθα· καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνων ὡς ἀμαρτησομένων ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς προνοουμένων. πολὺ τε διαφέρειν οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἀνθρώπου ἀνθρώπου, κράτιστον δὲ εἶναι ὅστις ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις παιδεύεται.

LXXXV.—1. “ Ταύτας οὖν ἂς οἱ πατέρες τε ἡμῖν

παρεδосαν μελέτας καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς ὠφελούμενοι ἔχομεν μὴ παρῶμεν, μηδ' ἐπειχθέντες ἐν βραχεί μορίῳ ἡμέρας περὶ πολλῶν σωμάτων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ πόλεων καὶ δόξης βουλευσώμεν ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν. 2. ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἐτέρων διὰ ἰσχύιν. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμπετε μὲν περὶ τῆς Ποτιδαίας, πέμπετε δὲ περὶ ὧν οἱ ξύμμαχοί φασιν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐτοίμων ὄντων αὐτῶν δίκας δοῦναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν διδόντα οὐ πρότερον νόμιμον ὥς ἐπ' ἀδικοῦντα ἰέναι. παρασκευάζεσθε δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἅμα. ταῦτα γὰρ κράτιστα βουλευέσθε καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις φοβερώτατα."

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος τοιαῦτα εἶπε· παρελθὼν δὲ Σθενελαΐδας τελευταῖος, εἰς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὢν, ἔλεξε ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὧδε.

LXXXVI.—1. "Τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ γινώσκω· ἐπαινέσαντες γὰρ πολλὰ ἑαυτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἀντίπουν ὥς οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς ἡμετέρους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ τότε. πρὸς δ' ἡμᾶς κακοὶ νῦν, διπλασίας ζημίας ἄξιοί εἰσιν, ὅτι αὐτ' ἀγαθῶν κακοὶ γεγέννηται. 2. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμοῖοι καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐσμεν, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, ἣν σωφρονῶμεν, οὐ περιοψόμεθα ἀδικουμένους οὐδὲ μελλήσομεν τιμωρεῖν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι μέλλουσι κακῶς πάσχειν. ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ χρήματά ἐστι πολλὰ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἵπποι, ἡμῖν δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἀγαθοί, οὓς οὐ παραδοτέα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα μὴ λόγῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς βλαπτομένους, ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει. 3. καὶ ὥς ἡμᾶς πρέπει βουλευέσθαι ἀδικουμένους μηδεὶς διδασκέτω, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον πρέπει πολὺν χρόνον βουλευέσθαι. ψηφίζεσθε οὖν, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μήτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἴτε μείζους γίγνεσθαι· μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους κατα-

προδιδῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπίωμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας.”

LXXXVII.—1. Τοιαῦτα δὲ λέξας ἐπεψήφισεν αὐτὸς ἔφορος ὢν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ (κρίνουσι γὰρ βοῇ καὶ οὐ ψήφῳ) οὐκ ἔφη διαγιγνώσκειν τὴν βοὴν ὁποτέρᾳ μείζων, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς φανερώς ἀποδεικνυμένους τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν μᾶλλον ὁρμῆσαι ἔλεξεν. 2. “Ὅτῳ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δοκοῦσι λελύσθαι αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν, ἀναστήτω ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον,” δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς, “ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ δοκοῦσιν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θύτερα.” ἀναστάντες δὲ διέστησαν, καὶ πολλῶ πλείους ἐγένοντο οἷς ἐδόκουν αἱ σπονδαὶ λελύσθαι. 3. προσκαλέσαντές τε τοὺς ξυμμάχους εἶπον ὅτι σφίσι μὲν δοκοῖεν ἀδικεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψήφον ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὅπως κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ποιῶνται, ἣν δοκῇ. 4. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ’ οἴκου διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ὕστερον ἐφ’ ἅπερ ἦλθον χρηματίσαντες. ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι, ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει καὶ δεκάτῳ τῶν τριακοντουτῖδων σπονδῶν προκεχωρηκυῶν, αἱ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὰ Εὐβοϊκά.

LXXXVIII.—1. Ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν ξυμμάχων πεισθέντες τοῖς λόγοις ὅσον φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον δυνηθῶσιν, ὁρῶντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποχείρια ἤδη ὄντα.

LXXXIX.—1. Οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ἠνξίθησαν. ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης νικηθέντες καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ οἱ καταφυγόντες αὐτῶν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Μυκάλην διεφθάρησαν, Λεωτυχίδης μὲν ὁ

βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἡγείτο τῶν ἐν Μυκάλη Ἑλλήνων, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἴκου ἔχων τοὺς ἀπο Πελοποννήσου ξυμμάχους· 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι, ἥδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὑπομείναντες Σηστόν ἐπολιόρκουν Μήδων ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐπιχειμάσαντες εἶλον αὐτὴν ἐκλιπόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις. 3. Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ κοινόν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπήλθον, διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιούσαν κατασκευήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰστήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.

XC.—1. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἦλθον πρεσβεία, τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἂν ὀρώντες μῆτ' ἐκείνους μῆτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τείχος ἔχοντα. τὸ δὲ πλεονὺ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐξοτρυνόντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην. 2. ἡξίουں τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοις ξυνειστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους, τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποπτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, εἰ αὖθις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντας ἀπὸ ἐχυροῦ ποθεν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ὀρμᾶσθαι· τὴν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἱκανὴν εἶναι ἀναχώρησίν τε καὶ ἀφορμήν. 3. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι Θεμιστοκλέους γνώμῃ τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτ' εἰπόντας, ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πέμψουσιν ὡς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπῆλλαξαν· ἑαυτὸν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς

ἑαυτῷ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν αἴρωσιν ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὕψους· τειχίζειν δὲ πάντα πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, φειδομένους μῆτε ἰδίου μῆτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὠφελία ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιροῦντας πάντα. 4. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ ὑπειπὼν, τᾶλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκεῖ πράξοι, ᾤχετο. καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθὼν οὐ προσήει πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ διῆγε καὶ προῦφασίζετο. καὶ ὁπότε τις αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, ἔφη τοὺς ξυμπρέσβεις ἀναμένειν, ἀσχολίας δέ τινος οὕσης αὐτοὺς ὑπολειφθῆναι, προσδέχεσθαι μέντοι ἐν ταχείῃ ἤξειν καὶ θαυμάζειν ὡς οὐπω πάρεισιν.

XCI.—1. Οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπείθοντο διὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγορούντων ὅτι τειχίζεται τε καὶ ἤδη ὕψος λαμβάνει, οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρῆ ἀπιστήσαι. γνούς δὲ ἐκεῖνος κελεύει αὐτοὺς μὴ λόγοις μᾶλλον παράγεσθαι ἢ πέμψαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας οἵτινες χρηστοὶ καὶ πιστῶς ἀπαγγελοῦσι σκεψάμενοι. 2. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κοιμισθῶσιν (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἤκον αὐτῷ οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις, Ἀβρόνιχός τε ὁ Λυσικλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμίχου, ἀγγέλλοντες ἔχειν ἱκανῶς τὸ τεῖχος). ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὁπότε σαφῶς ἀκούσειαν, οὐκέτι ἀφῶσιν. 3. οἳ τε οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πρέσβεις ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλη κατεῖχον, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπελθὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα δὴ φανερώς εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν πόλις σφῶν τετείχισται ἤδη ὥστε ἱκανὴ εἶναι σῶζειν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ δέ τι βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πρεσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς, ὡς πρὸς

διαγιγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν ἰέναι τὰ τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά. 4. τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν ὅτε ἐδόκει ἐκλιπεῖν ἄμεινον εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι, ἄνευ ἐκείνων ἔφασαν γνόντες τολμῆσαι, καὶ ὅσα αὖ μετ' ἐκείνων βουλευέσθαι, οὐδενὸς ὕστεροι γνώωη φανῆναι. δοκεῖν οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν τείχος ἔχειν, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσθαι· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τ' εἶναι μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς ὁμοίόν τι ἢ ἴσον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν βουλευέσθαι. ἢ πάντας οὖν ἀτειχίστους ἔφη χρῆναι ξυμαχεῖν ἢ καὶ τάδε νομίζειν ὀρθῶς ἔχειν.

XCII.—1. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσαντες ὀργὴν μὲν φανεράν οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ γνώμῃς παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μῆδον προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον), τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδίλως ἤχθοντο. οἳ τε πρέσβεις ἑκατέρων ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεπικλήτως.

XCIII.—1. Τούτῳ τῷ πρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστίν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἐστίν ἢ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστοί ποτε προσέφερον, πολλαί τε στῆλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ὁμοίως κινοῦντες ἠπείγοντο. 2. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν (ὑπῆρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε), νομίζων τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ναυτικούς γεγεννημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν. 3. τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος

ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς
 ξυγκατεσκεύαζε. καὶ ὠκοδόμησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ
 πᾶχος τοῦ τείχους ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν
 Πειραιᾶ· δύο γὰρ ἅμαξαι ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους
 ἐπῆγον. ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πηλὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ξυνο-
 κοδομημένοι μεγάλοι λίθοι καὶ ἐν τομῇ ἐγγώνιοι, σιδήρῳ
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔξωθεν καὶ μολίβδῳ δεδεμένοι. τὸ δὲ
 ὕψος ἡμῖς μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὐ διανοεῖτο. 4. ἐβούλετο
 γὰρ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ πᾶχει ἀφιστῆναι τὰς τῶν πολε-
 μίων ἐπιβουλὰς, ἀνθρώπων τε ἐνόμιζεν ὀλίγων καὶ τῶν
 ἀχρειοτάτων ἀρκέσειν τὴν φυλακὴν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐς
 τὰς νυκτὺς ἐσβήσεσθαι. 5. ταῖς γὰρ ναυσὶ μάλιστα προσ-
 ἔκειτο, ἰδὼν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς τὴν
 κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐφοδὸν εὐπορωτέραν τῆς κατὰ γῆν οὔσαν·
 τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ ὠφελιμώτερον ἐνόμιζε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως,
 καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἣν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ
 γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς
 ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτει-
 χίσθησαν καὶ τᾶλλα κατεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν
 Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν.

XCIV.—1. Πausanías δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἐκ Λακε-
 δαίμονος στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξεπέμφθη μετὰ
 εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ξυνέπλεον δὲ καὶ Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι τριάκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων πλῆθος.
 καὶ ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Κύπρον καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ κατε-
 στρεψαντο, καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον Μήδων ἐχόντων
 καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ.

XCV.—1. Ἦδη δὲ βιαίου ὄντος αὐτοῦ οἱ τὲ ἄλλοι
 Ἕλληνες ἤχθοντο καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ
 βασιλέως νεωστὶ ἠλευθέρωντο· φοιτῶντές τε πρὸς τοὺς
 Ἀθηναίους ἠξίουσαν αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γενέσθαι κατὰ
 τὸ ξυγγενὲς καὶ Πausanίᾳ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἣν που βιάζη-
 ται. 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς λόγους καὶ

προσείχον τὴν γνώμην ὡς οὐ περιοψόμενοι τᾶλλα τε καταστησόμενοι ἢ φαίνοντο ἄριστα αὐτοῖς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετεπέμποντο Πανσανίαν ἀνακρινοῦντες ὧν πέρι ἐπυνθάνοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἀδικία πολλὴ κατηγορεῖτο αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀφικνουμένων, καὶ τυραννίδος μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο μίμησις ἢ στρατηγία. 3. ξυνέβη τε αὐτῷ κατεῖσθαι τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τῷ ἐκείνου ἔχθει παρ' Ἀθηναίους μετατάξασθαι πλὴν τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποινήσου στρατιωτῶν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τινα ἀδικημάτων εὐθύνθη, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα ἀπολύεται μὴ ἀδικεῖν· κατηγορεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα Μηδισμὸς καὶ ἐδόκει σαφέστατον εἶναι. 4. καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν οὐκέτι ἐκπέμπουσιν ἄρχοντα, Δόρκιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἔχοντας οὐ πολλήν· οἷς οὐκέτι ἐφίεσαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἄλλους οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσιν οἱ ἐξιόντες χεῖρους γίγνωνται, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Πανσανίᾳ ἐνείδον, ἀπαλλαξείοντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νομίζοντες ἱκανοὺς ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐπιτηδείους.

XCVI.—1. Παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὸ Πανσανίου μῖσος, ἔταξαν ἅς τε ἔδει παρέχειν τῶν πόλεων χρήματα πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, καὶ ἅς, ναῦς· πρόσχημα γὰρ ἦν ἀμύνασθαι ὧν ἔπαθον δηρῶντας τὴν βασιλέως χώραν. 2. καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή, οἱ ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον· οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεῖς τετρακόσια τάλαντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα. ταμιεῖόν τε Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ αἱ ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγίγνοντο.

XCVII.—1. Ἡγούμενοι δὲ αὐτουόμων τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων τοσάδε

ἐπῆλθον πολέμῳ τε καὶ διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων μεταξὺ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ, ἃ ἐγένετο πρὸς τε τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους συμμάχους νεωτερίζοντας καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς αἰὲ προστυγχάνοντας ἐν ἐκιάστῳ. 2. ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην διὰ τὸδε, ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἄπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἡ τα πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ ξυνετίθεσαν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικά. τούτων δὲ ὅσπερ καὶ ἠΐσατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη· ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν οἷῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη.

XCVIII.—1. Πρῶτον μὲν Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων πολιορκίᾳ εἶλον καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγούντος. ἔπειτα Σκύρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νῆσον, ἣν ὥκουν Δόλοπες ἠνδραπόδισαν καὶ ἔκισαν αὐτοί. 2. πρὸς δὲ Καρυστίους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβοέων πόλεμος ἐγένετο, καὶ χρόνῳ ξυνέβησαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν. Ναξίοις δὲ ἀποστᾶσι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπολέμησαν καὶ πολιορκίᾳ παρεστήσαντο. πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχίς παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστη ξυνέβη.

XCIX.—1. Αἰτίαι δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν τῶν ἀποστάσεων καὶ μέγισται αἱ τῶν φόρων καὶ νεῶν ἐκδειαὶ καὶ λειποστράτιον εἰ τῷ ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκριβῶς ἔπρασσον καὶ λυπηροὶ ἦσαν οὐκ εἰωθόσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ταλαιπωρεῖν προσαγαγόντες τὰς ἀνάγκας. 2. ἦσαν δέ πως καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐν ἡδοιῇ ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὔτε ξυνεστράτευον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, ῥαδίῳ τε προσάγεσθαι ἦν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀφισταμένους. 3. ὧν αὐτοὶ αἵτιοι ἐγένοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι· διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόκνησιν ταύτην τῶν στρατειῶν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' οἴκου ὦσι, χρήματα ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἱκνούμενοι

ἀνάλωμα φερειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤϋξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν, αὐτοὶ δέ, ὁπότε ἀποσταῖεν, ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ ἄπειροι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο.

C.—1. Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ποταμῷ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ ἐνίκων τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀμφότερα Ἀθηναῖοι Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγούντος, καὶ εἶλον τριῆρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς πύσας ἐς διακοσίας. 2. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ξυνέβη Θασίους αὐτῶν ἀποστήναι διενεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας Θράκῃ ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου, ἃ ἐνέμοντο. καὶ ναυσὶ μὲν ἐπὶ Θάσον πλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν. 3. ἐπὶ δὲ Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες μυρίους οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, ὥς οἰκιοῦντες τὰς τότε καλουμένας Ἐννέα ὁδοὺς, νῦν δὲ Ἀμφίπολιν, τῶν μὲν Ἐννέα ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς εἶχον Ἡδωνοί, προελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θράκης ἐς μεσόγειαν διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ξύμπαντες, οἷς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον αἰ Ἐννέα ὁδοὶ κτιζόμενον.

CI.—1. Θάσιοι δὲ νικηθέντες μάχαις καὶ πολιορκούμενοι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ ἐπαμῦναι ἐκέλευον ἐσβαλόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. οἱ δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἔμελλον, διεκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Εἰλώτες. αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Θουριάται τε καὶ Αἰθαιεῖς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. 2. πλείστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι. ἡ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες. πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πόλεμος καθειστήκει Λακεδαιμονίοις. Θάσιοι δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι ὡμολόγησαν Ἀθηναίοις τεῖχος

τε καθελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες, χρήματά τε ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν, τὴν τε ἡπείρου καὶ τὸ μέταλλον ἀφέντες.

CII.—1. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ ἐμῆκύνετο ὁ πόλεμος, ἄλλους τε ἐπεκαλέσαντο ξυμμάχους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· οἱ δ' ἦλθον Κίμωνος στρατηγούντος πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγῳ. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεκαλέσαντο ὅτι τειχομαχεῖν ἐδόκουν δυνατοὶ εἶναι, τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας μακρᾶς καθεστηκυίας τούτου ἐνδεᾶ ἐφαίνετο· βία γὰρ ἂν εἶλον τὸ χωρίον· 2. καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ Ἀθηναίοις φανερὰ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον βία οὐχ ἠλίσκετο, δείσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ πολμηρὸν καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν, καὶ ἄλλοφύλους ἅμα ἡγησάμενοι, μή τι, ἣν παραμείνωσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πεισθέντες νεωτερίσωσι, μόνους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἀπέπεμψαν, τὴν μὲν ὑποψίαν οὐ δηλοῦντες, εἰπόντες δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται αὐτῶν ἔτι. 3. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίονι λόγῳ ἀποπεμπόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τινος ὑπόπτου γενομένου, καὶ δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο παθεῖν, εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν, ἀφέντες τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἀργείοις τοῖς ἐκείνων πολεμίοις ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις οἱ αὐτοὶ ὄρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία κατέστη.

CIII.—1. Οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰθώμῃ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ὥς οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, ξυνέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐξίσαιεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιβήσονται αὐτῆς· ἣν δέ τις ἀλίσκηται, τοῦ λαβόντος εἶναι δούλον. 2. ἣν δέ τι καὶ χρηστήριον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις, Πυθικὸν πρὸ τοῦ, τὸν ἰκέτην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα ἀφίεναι. ἐξῆλθον δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι κατ' ἕχθος ἤδη

τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς Ναύπακτον κατώκισαν, ἣν ἔτυχον ἥρηκοτες νεωστὶ Δοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐχόντων. 3. προσεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες, ὅτι αὐτοὺς Κορίνθιοι περὶ γῆς ὄρων πολέμῳ κατεΐχον. καὶ ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγάς, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ὤκοδόμησαν Μεγαρεῦσι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐς Νίσαιαν καὶ ἐφρούρουν αὐτοί. καὶ Κορινθίοις μὲν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ σφοδρὸν μῖσος ἥρξατο πρῶτον ἐς Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι.

CIV.—1. Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Ψαμμιτίχου, Δίβυς, βασιλεὺς Λιβύων τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Μαρείας τῆς ὑπὲρ Φάρου πόλεως ἀπέστησεν Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλέω ἀπὸ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχων γενόμενος Ἀθηναίους ἐπηγάγετο. 2. οἱ δὲ (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐς Κύπρον στρατευόμενοι ναυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων) ἦλθον ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ κρατοῦντες καὶ τῆς Μέμφιδος τῶν δύο μερῶν πρὸς τὸ τρίτον μέρος ὃ καλεῖται Λευκὸν τεῖχος ἐπολέμουν· ἐνῆσαν δὲ αὐτόθι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὴ ξυναποστάντες.

CV.—1. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ναυσὶν ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς Ἀλῖας πρὸς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους μάχῃ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐνίκων Κορίνθιοι. καὶ ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐναυμάχησαν ἐπὶ Κεκρυφαλείᾳ Πελοποννησίων ναυσί, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. 2. πολέμου δὲ καταστάντος πρὸς Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ ταῦτα ναυμαχία γίγνεται ἐπ' Αἰγίνῃ μεγάλη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Αἰγινητῶν, καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐκατέρωις παρήσαν, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ναῦς ἐβδομήκοντα λαβόντες αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν Λεωκράτους τοῦ Στροΐβου στρατηγοῦντος. 3. ἔπειτα Πελοποννησίοι ἀμύνειν βουλόμενοι Αἰγινήταις ἐς μὲν τὴν Αἴγιναν τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας πρότερον Κορινθίων καὶ

Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐπικούρους διεβίβασαν, τὰ δὲ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανείας κατέλαβον καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα κατέβησαν Κορίνθιοι μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, νομίζοντες ἀδυνάτους ἔσσεσθαι Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν ἔν τε Αἰγίνῃ ἀπούσης στρατιᾶς πολλῆς καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἦν δὲ καὶ βοηθῶσιν, ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἀναστήσεσθαι αὐτούς. 4. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ στράτευμα οὐκ ἐκίνησαν, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπολοίπων οἳ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι ἀφικοῦνται ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα Μυρωνίδου στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἰσορρόπου πρὸς Κορινθίους διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ὅμως μᾶλλον) ἀπελθόντων τῶν Κορινθίων τροπαῖον ἔστησαν· 5. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι κακιζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβυτέρων καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι ἡμέρας ὕστερον δώδεκα μάλιστα ἐλθόντες ἀνθίστασαν τροπαῖον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς νικήσαντες. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων τοὺς τε τὸ τροπαῖον ἰστάντας διαφθείρουσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν.

CVI.—1. Οἱ δὲ νικώμενοι ὑπεχώρουν, καί τι αὐτῶν μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον προσβιασθὲν καὶ διαμαρτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐσέπεσεν ἐς τοῦ χωρίου ἰδιώτου, ᾧ ἔτυχεν ὄρυγμα μέγα περιεῖργον καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔξοδος. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες καταπρόσωπόν τε εἶργον τοῖς ὀπλίταις καὶ περιστήσαντες κύκλῳ τοὺς ψιλούς κατέλευσαν πάντας τοὺς ἐσελθόντας, καὶ πῖθος μέγα τοῦτο Κορινθίοις ἐγένετο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ' οἴκου.

CVII.—1. Ἦρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχῃ ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τότε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ. καὶ Φωκέων στρατευσάντων ἐς Δωριᾶς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μητρόπολιν, Βοῖον καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεόν, καὶ ἐλόντων ἐν τῶν πολισμά-

των τούτων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Νικομήδους τοῦ Κλεομβρό-
του ὑπὲρ Πλείστοάνακτος τοῦ Πausανίου βασιλέως,
νέου ὄντος ἔτι, ἡγουμένου ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν
ἐαυτῶν τε πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλίταις καὶ τῶν
ξυμμάχων μυρίοις. 2. καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ὁμολογία ἀναγ-
κάσαντες ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν πάλιν. καὶ
κατὰ θύλασσαν μὲν αὐτοὺς, διὰ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου εἰ
βούλονται περαιοῦσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι νανσὶ περιπλεύσαντες
ἔμελλον κωλύ[σ]ειν. 3. διὰ δὲ τῆς Γερανείας οὐκ ἀσφα-
λὲς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων Μέγαρα καὶ
Πηγάς πορεύεσθαι· δύσδοός τε γὰρ ἡ Γεράνεια καὶ
ἐφρουρεῖτο αἰεὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ τότε ἡσθάνοντο αὐτοὺς
μέλλοντας καὶ ταύτῃ κωλύσειν. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Βοιω-
τοῖς περιμείνασι σκέψασθαι ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατα
διαπορεύσονται. τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπῆ-
γον αὐτοὺς κρύφα ἐλπίσαντες δῆμόν τε καταπαύσειν καὶ
τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη οἰκοδομοῦμενα. 4. ἐβοήθησαν δὲ ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεὶ καὶ Ἀργείων χίλιοι καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων ὥς ἕκαστοι· ξύμπαντες δὲ ἐγένοντο
τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. νομίσαντες δὲ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ
διέλθωσιν ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου
καταλύσεως ὑποψία. ἦλθον δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππῆς τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, οἳ μετέστησαν ἐν τῷ
ἔργῳ παρὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

CVIII.—1. Γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐν Τανάγρα τῆς
Βοιωτίας ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ
φονος ἐγένετο ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς. καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν
εἰς τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἐλθόντες καὶ δενδροτομήσαντες πάλιν
ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἶκου διὰ Γερανείας καὶ ἰσθμοῦ· Ἀθηναῖοι
δὲ δευτέρα καὶ ἐξηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐστρά-
τευσαν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς Μυρωνίδου στρατηγοῦντος. 2. καὶ
μάχῃ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαντες τε χώρας
ἐκράτησαν τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Φωκίδος καὶ Γαναγραίων τὸ

τειχος περιείλον καὶ Δοκρῶν τῶν Ὀπουντίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἔλαβον, τά τε τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μακρὰ ἐπετέλεσαν. 3. ὠμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. καὶ Πελοπόννησον περιέπλευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ τὸ νεώριον τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Χαλκίδα Κορινθίων πόλιν εἶλον καὶ Σικυωνίους ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν.

CIX.—1. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ζύμμαχοι ἐπέμενον καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλαὶ ἰδέαι πολέων κατέστη. αὐ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ βασιλεὺς πέμπει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Μεγάβazon ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν χρήματα ἔχοντα, ὅπως ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν πεισθέντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπαγάγοι Ἀθηναίους. 2. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ προὔχῳρει καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο, ὁ μὲν Μεγάβας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκομίσθη, Μεγάβυζον δὲ τὸν Ζωπύρου πέμπει ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς· ὃς ἀφικόμενος κατὰ γῆν τοὺς τε Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μέμφιδος ἐξήλασε τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ τέλος ἐς Προσωπίτιδα τὴν νῆσον κατέκλησε. 3. καὶ ἐπολιόρκει ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἕξ μῆνας, μέχρι οὗ ξηράνας τὴν διώρυχα καὶ παρατρέψας ἄλλη τὸ ὕδωρ τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε καὶ τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἤπειρον, καὶ διαβὰς εἶλε τὴν νῆσον περὶ.

CX.—1. Οὕτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα ἐφθάρη ἐξ ἔτη πολεμήσαντα· καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν πορευόμενοι διὰ τῆς Αἰβύης ἐς Κυρήνην ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἀπώλοντο. Αἴγυπτος δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ ἐγένετο πλὴν Ἀμυρταίου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως.

τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθός τε τοῦ ἔλους οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν καὶ ἅμα μαχιμωτατοὶ εἰσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔλειοι. Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Αἰβύων βασιλεύς, ὃς τὰ πάντα ἔπραξε περὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, προδοσίᾳ ληφθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη. 2. ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης συμμαχίδος πεντήκοντα τριήρεις διάδοχοι πλέουσai ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔσχον κατὰ τὸ Μενδήσιον κέρας, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν γεγενημένων οὐδέν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἕκ τε γῆς ἐπιπесόντες πεζοὶ καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης Φοινίκων ναυτικὸν διέφθειραν τὰς πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν, αἱ δ' ἐλάσσους διέφυγον πάλιν. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην στρατείαν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

CXI.—1. Ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας Ὁρέστης ὁ Ἐχεκράτιδου υἱὸς τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως φεύγων ἔπεισεν Ἀθηναίους ἑαυτὸν κατάγειν· καὶ παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας ὄντας συμμαχοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον. καὶ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐκράτουν ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων (οἱ γὰρ ἱππῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εἶργον), τὴν δὲ πόλιν οὐχ εἶλον οὐδ' ἄλλο προὔχῳρει αὐτοῖς οὐδέν ὧν ἕνεκα ἐστράτευσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν πάλιν Ὁρέστην ἔχοντες ἄπρακτοι. 2. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον χίλιοι Ἀθηναῖων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐν Πηγαῖς ἐπιβάντες (εἶχον δ' αὐτοὶ τὰς Πηγάς) παρέπλευσαν ἐς Σικυῶνα Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατηγούντος, καὶ ἀποβάντες Σικωνίων τοὺς προσμύξαντας μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν, καὶ εὐθὺς παραλαβόντες Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ διαπλεύσαντες πέραν, τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ἐς Οἰνιάδας ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν, οὐ μέντοι εἶλόν γε, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

CXII.—1. Ὑστερον δὲ διαλιπόντων ἐτῶν τριῶν σπονδαὶ γίνονται Πελοποννησίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πενταετείς. καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ μὲν πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς δὲ Κύπρον ἐστρατεύοντο ναυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ

τῶν *ξυμμάχων* *Κίμωνος* στρατηγούντος. καὶ ἐξήκοντα μὲν νῆες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔπλευσαν, Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμποντος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι *Κίτιον* ἐπολιόρκουν. 2. *Κίμωνος* δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ λιμοῦ γενομένου ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπὸ *Κιτίου*· καὶ πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ *Σαλαμῖνος* τῆς ἐν *Κύπρῳ* *Φοῖνιξι* καὶ *Κίλιξι* ἐνανμάχησαν καὶ ἐπέξομάχησαν ἅμα, καὶ νικήσαντες ἀμφοτέρω ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νῆες πάλιν αἱ ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' αὐτῶν. 3. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον πόλεμον ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ ἐν *Δελφοῖς* ἱεροῦ παρέδωκαν *Δελφοῖς*· καὶ αὖθις ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν στρατεύσαντες καὶ κρατήσαντες παρέδωκαν *Φωκεῦσι*.

CXIII.—1. Καὶ χρόνου ἐγγενομένου μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι, *Βοιωτῶν* τῶν φευγόντων ἐχόντων Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ *Χαιρώνειαν* καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα χωρία τῆς *Βοιωτίας*, ἐστράτευσαν ἑαυτῶν μὲν χιλίοις ὀπλίταις, τῶν δὲ *ξυμμάχων* ὡς ἐκάστοις ἐπὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα, πολέμια ὄντα, *Τολμίδου* τοῦ *Τολμαίου* στρατηγούντος. 2. καὶ *Χαιρώνειαι* ἐλόντες ἀπεχώρουν φυλακὴν καταστήσαντες. πορευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν *Κορωνείᾳ* ἐπιτίθενται οἳ τε ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ φυγᾶδες *Βοιωτῶν* καὶ *Λοκροὶ* μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ *Εὐβοέων* φυγᾶδες καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν· καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον. καὶ τὴν *Βοιωτίαν* ἐξέλιπον Ἀθηναῖοι πᾶσαν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιοῦνται. καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες *Βοιωτῶν* κατελθόντες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο.

CXIV.—1. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον *Εὐβοία* ἀπέστη ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων. καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν διαβεβηκότος ἤδη *Περικλέους* στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων ἡγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι *Μέγαρα* ἀφέστηκε καὶ *Πελοποννήσιοι* μέλλουσιν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ φρουροὶ Ἀθηναίων διεφθαρ-

μένοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων, πλὴν ὅσοι ἐς Νίσαιαν ἀπέφυγον· ἐπαγαγόμενοι δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Σικωνίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους ἀπέστησαν οἱ Μεγαρήs. 2. ὁ δὲ Περικλῆs πάλιν κατὰ τάχος ἐκόμιζε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆs Εὐβοίας. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῆs Ἀττικῆs ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Θριῶζε ἐσβαλόντες ἐδήωσαν Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Πausανίου βασιλέως Δακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένου, καὶ τὸ πλεον οὐκέτι προελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν ἐς Εὐβοίαν διαβάντες Περικλέους στρατηγούντος κατεστρέψαντο πᾶσαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁμολογίᾳ κατεστήσαντο, Ἑστιαίᾳs δὲ ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον.

CXV.—1. Ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον σπονδὰς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τριακοντούταιs, ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν· ταῦτα γὰρ εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι Πελοποννησίων.

2. Ἐκτῷ δὲ ἔτει Σαμίοιs καὶ Μιλησίοιs πόλεμος ἐγένετο περὶ Πριήνης· καὶ οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐλασσούμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντες κατεβόων τῶν Σαμίων. ξυνεπελαμβάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆs τῆs Σάμου ἄνδρες ἰδιῶται νέωτερίσαι βουλόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν. 3. πλεύσαντες οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Σάμον ναυσὶ τεσσαράκοντα δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν καὶ ὁμήρους ἔλαβον τῶν Σαμίων πεντήκοντα μὲν παῖδας, ἴσους δὲ ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐς Αἴηνον καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν. 4. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων ἦσαν γάρ τινες οἱ οὐχ ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, ξυνθέμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῖs δυνατωτάτοιs καὶ Πισσούθνῃ τῷ Ὑστάσπου ξυμμαχίαν, ὃs εἶχε Σάρδεις τότε, ἐπικούρους τε ξυλλέξαντες ἐς ἐπτακοσίους διέβησαν ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐς τὴν Σάμον. 5. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπανέστησαν καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν πλείστων, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὁμήρους κλέψαντες ἐκ Αἴηνου

τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἱ ἦσαν παρὰ σφίσιν ἐξέδοσαν Πισσούθυη, ἐπὶ τε Μίλητον εὐθὺς παρεσκευάζοντο στρατεύειν. ξυναπέστησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Βυζάντιοι.

CXVI.—1. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἦσθοντο, πλεύσαντες ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα ἐπὶ Σάμου ταῖς μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο (ἔτυχον γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐς προσκοπὴν τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν οἰχόμεναι, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου περιαγγέλλουσαι βοηθεῖν), τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ναυσὶ καὶ τέσσαρσι Περικλέους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς Τραγία τῇ νήσῳ Σαμίων ναυσὶν ἐβδομήκοντα, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ εἴκοσι στρατιώτιδες· ἔτυχον δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ Μιλήτου πλέουσai· καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι 2. ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν νῆες τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ ἀποβάντες καὶ κρατοῦντες τῷ πεζῷ ἐπολιόρκουν τρισὶ τείχεσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἅμα. 3. Περικλῆς δὲ λαβὼν ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορμωσῶν ὥχετο κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Καύνου καὶ Καρίας, ἐσαγγελθέντων ὅτι Φοίνισσαι νῆες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πλέουσιν· ὥχετο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέντε ναυσὶ Στησαγόρας καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας.

CXVII.—1. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι ἑξαπιναιῶς ἔκπλουν ποιησάμενοι ἀφράκτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιπεσόντες τὰς τε προφυλακίδας ναῦς διέφθειραν καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς ἀνταναγομένας ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τῆς θαλίσσης τῆς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκράτησαν ἡμέρας περὶ τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα καὶ ἐσεκομίσαντο καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο ἃ ἐβούλοντο. 2. ἐλθόντος δὲ Περικλέους πάλιν ταῖς ναυσὶ κατεκλήσθησαν. καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὕστερον προσεβοήθησαν τεσσαράκοντα μὲν αἱ μετὰ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Ἀγνωνος καὶ Φορμίωνος νῆες, εἴκοσι δὲ αἱ μετὰ Τληπολέμου καὶ Ἀντικλέους, ἐκ δὲ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου τριάκοντα. 3. καὶ ναυμαχίαν μὲν

τινα βραχείαν ἐποίησαντο οἱ Σάμιοι, ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν ἐξεπολιορκήθησαν ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ καὶ προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογία, τείχος τε καθελόντες καὶ ὁμήρους δόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες καὶ χρήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα κατὰ χρόνους ταξάμενοι ἀποδοῦναι. ξυνέβησαν δὲ καὶ Βυζάντιοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκοοι εἶναι.

CXVIII.—1. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη γίγνεται οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὰ προειρημένα, τά τε Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτιδιατικὰ καὶ ὅσα πρόφασις τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη. ταῦτα δὲ ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα μάλιστα μεταξὺ τῆς Ἑέρξου ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως. 2. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι οὔτε ἐκώλυνον εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλεόν τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἵεναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους εἰ μὴ ἀναγκάζονται, τὸ δέ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι, πρὶν δὴ ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἦρετο καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἥπτοντο. 3. τότε δὲ οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρητέα ἐδόκει εἶναι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ καθαιρετέα ἡ ἰσχὺς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀραμένοις τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον.

4. Αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διέγνωστο λελύσθαι τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀδικεῖν, πέμψαντες δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσται. ὁ δὲ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῖς ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος.

CXIX.—1. Αὐθις δὲ τοὺς ξυμμαχοὺς παρακαλέσαντες ψῆφον ἐβούλοντο ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν. καὶ ἐλθόντων τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίας καὶ ξυνόδου γενομένης οἱ τε ἄλλοι εἶπον ἃ ἐβούλοντο, κατηγοροῦντες οἱ

πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι δεηθέντες μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις πρότερον ἐκάστων ἰδίᾳ ὥστε ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, δεδιότες περὶ τῇ Ποτιδαίᾳ μὴ προδιαφθαρῇ, παρόντες δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τελευταῖοι ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιαύδε.

CXX.—1. Τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, ὧς ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, οὐκ αἶν' ἔτι αἰτιασαίμεθα ὥς οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν πόλεμόν εἰσι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο νῦν ξυνήγαγον. χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται. 2. ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἐνηλλάγησαν οὐχὶ διδαχῆς δέονται ὥστε φυλάξασθαι αὐτούς· τοὺς δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατωκημένους εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι, τοῖς κάτω ἢν μὴ ἀμύνωσι, χαλεπωτέραν ἔξουσιν τὴν κατακομίδην τῶν ὠραίων καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν ὣν ἡ θάλασσα τῇ ἡπείρῳ δίδωσι, καὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων μὴ κακοὺς κριτὰς ὥς μὴ προσηκόντων εἶναι, προσδέχεσθαι δέ ποτε, εἰ τὰ κάτω πρόοιντο, εἰ μὲν μέχρι σφῶν τὸ δεινὸν προελθεῖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ ἦσσαν νῦν βουλεύεσθαι. 3. διόπερ καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν δεῖ αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης μεταλαμβάνειν. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ σωφρόνων μὲν ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῦντο, ἡσυχάζειν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ ἀδικουμένους ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν, εὖ δὲ παρασχὼν ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι, καὶ μήτε τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε τῷ ἡσυχίῳ τῆς εἰρήνης ἰδόμενον ἀδικεῖσθαι. 4. ὅ τε γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἡδοιὴν ὀκνῶν τάχιστ' ἂν ἀφαιρεθεῖν τῆς ῥαστώνης τὸ τερπνὸν δι' ὅπερ ὀκνεῖ, εἰ ἡσυχάζοι, ὅ τε ἐν πολέμῳ εὐτυχίᾳ πλεονάζων οὐκ ἐντεθῆμται θράσει ἀπίστῳ ἐπαιρόμενος. πολλὰ γὰρ κακῶς γνωσθέντα ἀβουλοτέρων τῶν ἐναντίων τυχόντων κατωρθώθη, καὶ ἔτι πλέω ἂν καλῶς δοκοῦντα βουλευθῆναι ἐς τοῦναντίον αἰσchrῶς περιέστη· ἐνθυμείται γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁμοίᾳ τῇ πίστει καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀλλὰ

μετ' ἀσφαλείας μεν δοξάζομεν, μετὰ δέους δὲ ἐν τῇ ἔργῳ ἑλλείπομεν.

CXXI.—1. “Ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν καὶ ἀδικούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν καὶ ἱκανὰ ἔχοντες ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ὅταν ἀμυνώμεθα Ἀθηναίους, καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν ἐν καιρῷ. κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι, πρῶτον μὲν πλήθει προὔχοντας καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολεμικῇ, ἔπειτα ὁμοίως πάντας ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἰόντας. 2. ναυτικόν τε, ᾧ ἰσχύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τε ἐκάστοις οὐσίας ἐξαρτυσόμεθα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ χρημάτων· δάνεισμα γὰρ ποιησάμενοι ὑπολαβεῖν οἰοί τ' ἐσμέν μισθῷ μείζονι τοὺς ξένους αὐτῶν ναυβάτας. ὦνητὴ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἡ δύναμις μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεία· ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἦσσαν ἂν τοῦτο πάθοι, τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλεόν ἰσχύουσα ἢ τοῖς χρήμασι. 3. μιᾷ τε νίκη ναυμαχίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀλίσκονται· εἰ δ' ἀντίσχοιεν, μελετήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ τὰ ναυτικά, καὶ ὅταν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσωμεν, τῇ γε εὐψυχίᾳ δῆπου περιεσόμεθα. ὃ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν φύσει ἀγαθόν, ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο διδαχῇ· ὃ δ' ἐκείνοι ἐπιστήμῃ προὔχουσι, καθαιρετέον ἡμῖν ἐστὶ μελέτῃ. χρήματα δ' ὥστ' ἔχειν ἐς αὐτά, οἴσομεν. 4. ἢ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη εἰ οἱ μὲν ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν φέροντες οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ τιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅμα σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἄρα δαπανήσομεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὰ ἀφαιρεθέντες αὐτοῖς τούτοις κακῶς πάσχειν.

CXXII.—1. “Ὑπάρχουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὁδοὶ πολέμου ἡμῖν, ξυμμάχων τε ἀπόστασις, μάλιστα παραίρεσις οὐσα τῶν προσόδων αἷς ἰσχύουσιν, καὶ ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλα τε ὅσα οὐκ ἂν τις νῦν προῖδοι. ἥκιστα γὰρ πόλεμος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς χωρεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνᾶται πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον· ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως

αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει. 2. ἐνθυμώμεθα δὲ καὶ ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἦσαν ἡμῶν ἐκάστοις πρὸς ἀντιπάλους περὶ γῆς ὅρων διαφοραί, οἷστον ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ξύμπαντάς τε ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι ἱκανοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἔτι δυνατώτεροι· ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἕκαστον ἄστν μιᾷ γνώμῃ ἀμυνόμεθα αὐτούς, δίχα γε ὄντας ἡμᾶς ἀπόνως χειρῶσονται. 3. καὶ τὴν ἦσσαν, εἰ καὶ δεινόν τῳ ἀκούσαι, ἴστω οὐκ ἄλλο τι φέρουσιν ἢ ἀντικρυς δουλείαν· ὃ καὶ λόγῳ ἐνδοιασθῆναι αἰσχρὸν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ πόλεις τοσάσδε ὑπὸ μιᾶς κακοπαθεῖν. ἐν ᾧ ἢ δικαίως δοκοῖμεν ἂν πᾶσχειν ἢ διὰ δειλίαν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τῶν πατέρων χεῖρους φαίνεσθαι, οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡλευθέρωσαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαιούμεν αὐτό, τύραννον δὲ ἐῷμεν ἐγκαθεστάναι πόλιν, τοὺς δ' ἐν μιᾷ μονάρχους ἀξιούμεν καταλύειν. 4. καὶ οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται, ἀξυνεσίας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ ἀμελείας. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ βλάβασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πολλοὺς σφάλλειν τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνομασται.

CXXIII.—1. “Τὰ μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένα τί δεῖ μακροτερον ἢ ἐς ὅσον τοῖς νῦν συμφέρει αἰτιᾶσθαι; περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μελλοντων τοῖς παρούσι βοηθούντας χρὴ ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν· πάτριον γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι· καὶ μὴ μεταβαλλεῖν τὸ ἔθος, εἰ ἄρα πλούτῳ τε νῦν καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ὀλίγον προφέρετε (οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ἂ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐκτίθῃ τῇ περιουσίᾳ ἀπολέσθαι), ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦντας ἰέναι κατα πολλὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τοῦ τε θεοῦ χρήσαντος καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποσχομένου ξυλλήψεσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος πάσης ξυναγωνιουμένης, τὰ μὲν φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὠφελίᾳ. 2. σπονδίας τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι, ἅς γε καὶ ὁ θεὸς κελεύων πολεμεῖν νομίζει παραβεβῆσθαι,

ἡδίκημέναις δὲ μᾶλλον βοηθήσετε· λύουσι γὰρ οὐχ οἱ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ πρότεροι ἐπιόντες.

CXXIV.—1. “Ὡστε πανταχόθεν καλῶς ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν καὶ ἡμῶν τάδε κοινῇ παραινούντων, εἴπερ βεβαιοτατον τὸ ταῦτα ξυμφέροντα καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις εἶναι, μὴ μέλλετε Ποτιδαίταις τε ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρίαν οὖσι Δωριεῦσι καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων πολιορκουμένοις, οὗ προτερον ἦν τούναντίον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετελθεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὥς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται περιμένοντας τοὺς μὲν ἤδη βλάπτεσθαι, τοὺς δ', εἰ γνωσθησόμεθα ξυνελθόντες μὲν, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες, μὴ πολὺ ὕστερον τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχειν· ἀλλὰ νομίσαντες ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφίχθαι, ὧς ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ἅμα τάδε ἄριστα λέγεσθαι, ψηφίσασθε τὸν πολεμον, μὴ φοβηθέντες τὸ αὐτίκα δεινόν, τῆς δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ πλείονος εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες· 2. ἐκ πολέμου μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνη μᾶλλον βεβαιούται, ἀφ' ἡσυχίας δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσαι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκίνδυνον. καὶ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλιν τύραννον ἡγησάμενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως καθεστάναι. ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἤδη ἄρχειν, τῶν δὲ διανοεῖσθαι, παραστησώμεθα ἐπελθόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκινδύνως τό λοιπὸν οἰκῶμεν καὶ τοὺς νῦν δεδουλωμένους Ἕλληνας ἐλευθερώσωμεν.” τοιαῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον.

CXXV.—1. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἀφ' ἀπάντων ἤκουσαν γνώμην, ψῆφοι ἐπήγαγον τοῖς ξυμμαχοῖς ἅπασιν ὅσοι παρῆσαν ἐξῆς καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πολεὶ· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσαντο πολεμεῖν. δεδογμένοι δὲ αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς μὲν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπαρασκευοῖς οὖσιν, ἐκπορίζεσθαι δὲ ἐδόκει ἐκάστοις ἅ πρόσφορα ἦν καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέλλησιν. ὅμως δὲ καθισταμένοις ὧν ἔδει ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ διετρίβη, ἔλασσον δέ, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄρασθαι φανερώς.

CXXVI.—1. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπρεσβεύοντο τῷ χρόνῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι, ὅπως σφίσιν ὅτι μεγίστη πρόφασις εἴη τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ἣν μὴ τι ἐσακούσωσι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ ἄγος ἦν τοιόνδε. 2. Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν πάλαι εὐγενῆς τε καὶ δυνατός· ἐγεγαμῆκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους Μεγαρέως ἀνδρός, ὃς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει Μεγάρων. χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλῳ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐορτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν. 3. ὁ δὲ παρά τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθον Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἐορτὴν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι προσίκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἡ μεγίστη ἐορτὴ εἴρητο, οὔτε ἐκείνος ἔτι κατένόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου 4. (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἐορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια). δοκῶν δὲ ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκειν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. 5. χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι ἢ ἂν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσι· τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπρασσον. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ. 6. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδράσκουσιν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὡς ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπέβνησκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν

ἰκέται τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν, ὡς ἐώρων ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέκτειναν. 7. καθεζομένους δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεχρήσαντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτῆριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς τούτους, ἤλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιαζόντων, τοὺς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ ὀστέα ἀνελόντες ἐξέβαλον· κατῆλθον μέντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἔτι ἐν τῇ πόλει.

CXXVII.—1. Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἄγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον ἐλαύνειν δῆθεν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον τιμωροῦντες, εἰδότες δὲ Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου προσεχόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα καὶ νομίζοντες ἐκπέσόντος αὐτοῦ ῥᾶον σφίσι προχωρεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. 2. οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ἠλπιζον παθεῖν ἂν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὅσον διαβολὴν οἴσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ξυμφορὰν τὸ μέρος ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος. ὢν γὰρ δυνατώτατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἄγων τὴν πολιτείαν ἠναντιοῦτο πάντα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ οὐκ εἶα ὑπείκειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

CXXVIII.—1. Ἀντεκέλευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν· οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναστήσαντές ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπὸ Ταινάρου τῶν Εἰλώτων ἰκέτας ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν· δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν μέγαν σεισμὸν γενέσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ. 2. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ἐγένετο δὲ τοιόνδε. ἐπειδὴ Πausanias ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος τὸ πρῶτον μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησ-

πόντῳ καὶ κριθαῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπελύθη μὴ ἀδικεῖν, δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐξεπέμφθη, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς τριήρη λαβὼν Ἑρμιονίδα ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλησποντον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα πρᾶσσειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐνέχειρήσεν, ἐφιεμένος Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς. 3. εὐεργεσίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο καὶ τοῦ παντὸς πράγματος ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο· Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἐλὼν τῇ προτέρα παρουσίᾳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κύπρου ἀναχώρησιν (εἶχον δὲ Μῆδοι αὐτὸ καὶ βασιλέως προσήκοντές τινες καὶ ξυγγενεῖς [οἱ] ἐάλωσαν ἐν αὐτῷ), τότε τούτους οὓς ἔλαβεν ἀποπέμπει βασιλεῖ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. 4. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἑρετριέως, ᾧ ἐπέτρεψε τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τὸν Γόγγυλον φέροντα αὐτῷ· ἐνεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς ὕστερον ἀνευρέθη. 5. “ Πausanias ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Σπάρτης τούσδε τέ σοι χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος ἀποπέμπει δορὶ ἐλὼν, καὶ γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, θυγατέρα τε τὴν σὴν γῆμαι καὶ σοὶ Σπάρτην τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι. δυνατὸς δὲ δοκῶ εἶναι ταῦτα πρᾶξαι μετὰ σοῦ βουλευόμενος. εἰ οὖν τί σε τούτων ἀρεσκει, πέμπε ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δι' οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα.”

CXXIX.—1. Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Ξέρξης δὲ ἦσθη τε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ἀποστέλλει Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Φαρνάκου ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν τὴν τε Δασκυλίτιν σατραπείαν παραλαβεῖν Μεγαβιάτην ἀπαλλάξαντα, ὃς πρότερον ἦρχε, καὶ παρὰ Πausaniam ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπιστολὴν ἀντεπετίζει αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα διαπέμψαι καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ἀποδείξαι, καὶ ἦν τι αὐτῷ Πausanias παραγγέλλῃ περὶ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πραγμάτων,

πράσσειν ὡς ἄριστα καὶ πιστότατα. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος τά τε ἄλλα ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ εἴρητο καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διέπεμψεν· ἀντεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε. 2. “Ὡδε λέγει βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης Πανσανία· καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς μοι πέραν θαλάσσης ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἔσωσας κείταί σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἔσαεὶ ἀνάγραφτος, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀρέσκομαι. καὶ σε μήτε νῦν μήθ’ ἡμέρα ἐπισχέτω ὥστε ἀνεῖναι πράσσειν τι ὧν ἐμοὶ ὑπισχνῇ, μηδὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου δαπάνῃ κεκωλύσθω μηδὲ στρατιᾷς πλήθει, εἴ ποι δεῖ παραγίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μετ’ Ἀρταβάζου ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ὃν σοι ἔπεμψα, πρᾶσσε θαρσῶν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ σὰ ὅπη κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔξει ἀμφοτέροις.”

CXXX.—1. Ταῦτα λαβὼν ὁ Πανσανίας τὰ γράμματα, ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγεμονίαν, πολλῇ τότε μᾶλλον ἦρτο καὶ οὐκέτι ἡδύνατο ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τρόπῳ βιοτεῦναι, ἀλλὰ σκευάς τε Μηδικὰς ἐνδυνόμενος ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξῆει καὶ διὰ τῆς Θράκης πορευόμενον αὐτὸν Μῆδοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδορυφόρουν, τρύπεζάν τε Περσικὴν παρετίθετο καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἡδύνατο, ἀλλ’ ἔργοις βραχέσι προϋδήλου ἅ τῇ γνώμῃ μειζόνως ἐσέπειτα ἔμελλε πράξειν. δυσπρόσοδόν τε αὐτὸν παρείχε καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρήτο ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι προσιέναι· διόπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἡκιστα ἢ ξυμμαχία μετέστη.

CXXXI.—1. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι τό τε πρῶτον δι’ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἑρμιονίδι νηὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκπλεύσας οὐ κελευσάντων αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐφαίνετο ποιῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου βίᾳ ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐκπολιορκηθεὶς ἐς μὲν τὴν Σπάρτην οὐκ ἐπανεχώρει, ἐς δὲ Κολωνὰς τὰς Τρωάδας ἰδρυθεὶς

πράσσων τε ἐσηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν μονὴν ποιούμενος, οὕτω δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπέσχον, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες κήρυκα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ σκυτάλην εἶπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ λείπεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας προαγορεύειν. 2. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ὑποπτος εἶναι καὶ πιστεύων χρήμασι διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολὴν ἀνεχώρει τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐσπίπτει τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων (ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις τὸν βασιλέα δρᾶσαι τοῦτο), ἔπειτα διαπραξάμενος ὕστερον ἐξῆλθε καὶ καθίστησιν ἑαυτὸν ἐς κρίσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλέγχειν.

CXXXII.—1. Καὶ φανερὸν μὲν εἶχον οὐδὲν οἱ Σπαρτιάται σημεῖον, οὔτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ οὔτε ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, ὅτῳ ἂν πιστεύσαντες βεβαίως ἐτιμωροῦντο ἄνδρα γένους τε τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι τιμὴν ἔχοντα (Πλείσταρχον γὰρ τὸν Λεωνίδου ὄντα βασιλέα καὶ νέον ἔτι ἀνεψιὸς ὢν ἐπετρόπευεν), 2. ὑποψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρείχε τῇ τε παρανομίᾳ καὶ ζηλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι, τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπουν εἴτι που ἐξεδεδιήτητο τῶν καθεστώτων νομίμων καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδά ποτε τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνιον, ἠξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τόδε·

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὦλεσε Μήδων,

Πανσανίας Φοῖβῳ μνήμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

3. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγεῖον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλαψαν εὐθὺς τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα· τοῦ μέντοι Πανσανίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρούσῃ διανοίᾳ. 4. ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλώτας πρᾶσσειν τι αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως· ἐλευθέρωσιν τε γὰρ

ἐπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιτείαν, ἣν ξυνεπαναστῶσι καὶ τὸ πᾶν ξυγκατεργάζονται. 5. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οὐδὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων μηνυταῖς τισι πιστεύσαντες ἠξίωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν, χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτούς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου ἄνευ ἀναμφισβητήτων τεκμηρίων βουλευσαί τι ἀνήκεστον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, ὁ μέλλων τὰς τελευταίας βασιλεῖ ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον κομιεῖν, ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος, παιδικά ποτε ὢν αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστότατος ἐκείνῳ μηνυτῆς γίγνεται· δείσας κατὰ ἐνθύμησιν τινα ὅτι οὐδεὶς πω τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγγέλων πάλιν ἀφίκετο, καὶ παραποιησάμενος σφραγίδα, ἵνα ἦν ψευσθῇ τῆς δόξης ἣ καὶ ἐκείνός τι μεταγράψαι αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπιγνῶ, λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ὑποιοήσας τι τοιοῦτο προσεπεστάλθαι καὶ αὐτὸν εὗρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν.

CXXXIII.—1. Τότε δὲ οἱ ἔφοροι δείξαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα μᾶλλον μὲν ἐπίστευσαν, αὐτήκοοι δὲ βουληθέντες ἔτι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ Πausανίου τι λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἰκέτου οἰχομένου καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλὴν διαφράγματι καλύβην, ἐς ἣν τῶν [τε] ἐφόρων ἐντός τινας ἔκρυψε, καὶ Πausανίου ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος καὶ ἐρωτῶντος τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἰκετείας ἥσθοντο πάντα σαφῶς, αἰτιωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα καὶ τᾶλλ' ἀποφαίνοντος καθ' ἕκαστον, ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις παραβάλοιτο, προτιμηθεῖν δ' ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνου αὐτὰ ταῦτα ξυνομολογοῦντος καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος οὐκ ἔωντος ὀργίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ δίδόντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀξιοῦντος ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα διακωλύειν.

CXXXIV.—1. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀκριβῶς τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον οἱ ἔφοροι, βεβαίως δὲ ἤδη εἰδότες ἐν τῇ πόλει

τὴν ξύλληψιν ἐποιοῦντο. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ξύλληφθῆσεσθαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐνὸς μὲν τῶν ἐφόρων τὸ προσωπον προσιόντος ὡς εἶδε, γινῶναι ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχώρει, ἄλλου δὲ νεύματι ἀφανεῖ χρησαμένου καὶ δηλώσαντος εὐνοία, πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Χαλκιοίκου χωρῆσαι δρόμῳ καὶ προκαταφυγεῖν, ἣν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ τέμενος. 2. καὶ ἐς οἴκημα οὐ μέγα ὃ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσελθὼν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωροίῃ, ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑστέρησαν τῇ διώξει, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ τε οἴκηματος τὸν ὄροφον ἀφείλον καὶ τὰς θύρας, ἔνδον ὄντα τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπολαβόντες εἴσω, ἀπρωκοδόμησαν, πρσκαθεζόμενοί τε ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ. 3. καὶ μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποψύχειν ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, αἰσθόμενοί τε ἐξάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔτι ἔμπρουν ὄντα καὶ ἐξαχθεῖς ἀπέθανε παραχορήμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιιάδαν οὐπὲρ τοὺς κακούργους ἐμβάλλειν. 4. ἔπειτα ἔδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς τὸν τε τάφον ὕστερον ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μετενεγκεῖν οὐπὲρ ἀπέθανε (καὶ νῦν κείται ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι, ὃ γραφῇ στῆλαι δηλοῦσι), καὶ ὡς ἄγος αὐτοῖς ὅν τὸ πεπραγμένον δύο σώματα ἀνθ' ἐνὸς τῇ Χαλκιοίκῳ ἀποδοῦναι. οἱ δὲ ποιησάμενοι χαλκοὺς ἀνδριάντας δύο ὡς ἀντὶ Πausανίου ἀνέθεσαν.

CXXXV.—1. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγος κρίναντος, ἀντεπέταξαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλαυνεῖν αὐτό. τοῦ δὲ Μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Πausανίου Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ξυνεπητιῶντο καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς εὕρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πausανίαν ἐλέγχων, ἠξίουσαν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολλάζεσθαι αὐτόν. 2. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες (ἔτιχε γὰρ ὡστρακισμένος καὶ ἔχων δίαίταν μὲν ἐν Ἀργεῖ, ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον) πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτοιμῶν ὄντων ξυνδιώκειν ἄνδρας οἷς εἴρητο ἄγειν ὅπου αὐ περιτύχωσιν.

CXXXVI.—1. Ὁ δὲ Οεμιστοκλῆς προαισθόμενος φ' ἵγει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὧν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης. δεδιέναι δὲ φασκόντων Κερκυραίων ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέχθασθαι, διακομίζεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὴν καταντικρύ. 2. καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προστεταγμένων κατὰ πύστιν ἢ χωροίη, ἀναγκάζεται κατὰ τι ἄπορον παρὶ Ἀδμήτον τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα, ὄντα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον, καταλύσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐπιδημῶν, ὁ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἰκέτης γενόμενος διδάσκεται ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὸν παῖδα σφῶν λαβὼν καθίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν. 3. καὶ ἐλθόντος οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τοῦ Ἀδμήτου δηλοῖ τε ὅς ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, εἴ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων δεομένῳ, φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολλῷ ἀσθενέστερος ἐν τῷ παρόντι κακῶς πάσχειν, γενναῖον δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου τιμωρεῖσθαι. 4. καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῳ χρείας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι, ἐκείνουν δ' ἂν εἰ ἐκδοίῃ αὐτόν (εἰπὼν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ διώκεται), σωτηρίας ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερήσῃ.

CXXXVII.—1. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱέος (ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἰκέτευμα τοῦτο) καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐλθοῦσι καὶ πολλὰ εἰποῦσιν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλει βουλόμενον ὡς βασιλέα πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν θύλασσαν περὶ Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξιάνδρου. 2. ἐν ἣ ὀλκάδος τυχὼν ἀναγομένης ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ ἐπιβὰς καταφέρεται χειμῶνι ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον ὃ ἐπολιόρκει Νάξον. καί (ἦν γὰρ ἀγνὼς τοῖς ἐν τῇ νηί) δείσας φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' αὐτὸν φεύγει, καὶ εἰ μὴ σώσει αὐτόν, ἔφη εἰρῆν ὅτι χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν ἄγει· τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι μηδένα ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς νεὸς μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται· πειθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀπομνήσεσθαι ἀξίαν. 3. ὁ δὲ

ναύκληρος ποιεῖ τε ταῦτα καὶ ἀποσαλεύσας ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὕστερον ἀφικνέεται ἐς Ἐφεσον. καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκείνόν τε ἐθεράπευσε χρημάτων δόσει (ἦλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἕκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἀργούς ἀ' ὑπεξέκειτο), καὶ μετὰ τῶν κάτω Περσῶν τινος πορευθεὶς ἄνω ἐσπέμπει γράμματα ἐς βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα. 4. ἐδήλου δ' ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι “Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλείστα Ἑλλήνων εἴργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἡμυνόμην, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθὰ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἢ ἀποκομιδῇ ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται (γράφας τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προὔγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν), καὶ νῦν ἔχων σε μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ δρᾶσαι πύριμι διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν. βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχὼν αὐτὸς σοι περὶ ὧν ἦκω δηλῶσαι.”

CXXXVIII—1. Βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται, ἐθαύμασέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διύνοιαν καὶ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν οὕτως. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε τῆς Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἡδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας. 2. ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ ὅσος οὐδεὶς πω Ἑλλήνων διὰ τε τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα ἣν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδοὺς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι. 3. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μαλλον ἐτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι· οἰκεία γὰρ ξυνέσει, καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθὼν, τῶν τε παραχρήμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκα-

στής· 4. καὶ ἃ μὲν μετὰ χειρας ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε, ὧν δὲ ἄπειρος εἴη, κρίναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο· τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χειρόν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο 5. νοσήσας δὲ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ ἐκούσιον φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ ἃ ὑπέσχετο. μνημεῖον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· 6. ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἢ προσέφερε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον δὲ οἶνον (ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυοινότατον τῶν τότε εἶναι), Μυοῦντα δὲ ὄψον. 7. τὰ δὲ ὅστ᾽ αὖ φασι κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἴκαδε κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν θάπτειν ὥς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντος. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πausανίαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον λαμπροτάτους γενομένους τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Ἑλλήνων οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

CXXIX.—1. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας τοιαῦτα ἐπέταξάν τε καὶ ἀντεκελεύθησαν περὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν ἐλάσεως· ὕστερον δὲ φοιτῶντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους Ποτιδαίας τε ἀπανίστασθαι ἐκέλευον καὶ Αἴγινα αὐτόνομον ἀφιεῖναι, καὶ μάλιστα γε πάντων καὶ ἐνδηλότατα προὔλεγον τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθελούσι μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ εἴρητο αὐτοὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀγορᾷ. 2. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε τᾶλλα ὑπήκουον οὔτε τὸ ψήφισμα καθήρουν, ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἀφισταμένων. τέλος δὲ ἀφικομένων τῶν τελευταίων πρέσβεων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, Ῥαμφίου τε καὶ Μελησίππου καὶ Ἀγησιάνδρου, καὶ λε-

γόντων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὦν πρότερον εἰώθεσαν, αὐτὰ δὲ τῆδε ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι βούλονται τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι, εἴη δ' ἂν εἰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖτε, ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προὔτιθεσαν, καὶ ἐδόκει ἅπαξ περὶ ἀπάντων βουλευσαμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ παριόντες ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἔλεγον, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα γιγνόμενοι ταῖς γνώμας καὶ ὥς χρή πολεμεῖν καὶ ὥς μὴ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ παρελθὼν Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππυ, ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκείνουν τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος, παρήνει τοιαῦδε.

CXL.—1. “Τῆς μὲν γνώμης, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι μὴ εἴκειν Πελοποννησίοις, καίπερ εἰδῶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ πράσσοντας, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπομένους. 2. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁμοῖα καὶ παραπλήσια συμβουλευτέα μοι ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀναπειθομένους ὑμῶν δικαίῳ τοῖς κοινῇ δόξασιν, ἣν ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλλόμεθα, βοηθεῖν, ἢ μὴδὲ κἀτορθούντας τῆς ξυνέσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι. ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἥσσον ἀμιαθῶς φωρῆσαι ἢ καὶ τὰς διανοίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· διόπερ καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅσα ἂν παρὰ λόγον ξυμβῇ, εἰώθαμεν αἰτιᾶσθαι. 3. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρότερόν τε δῆλοι ἦσαν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν οὐχ ἥκιστα. εἰρημενον γὰρ δίκας μὲν τῶν διαφόρων ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι, ἔχειν δὲ ἐκατέρους ἃ ἔχομεν, οὔτε αὐτοὶ δίκας πω ἤτησαν οὔτε ἡμῶν διδόντων δέχονται, βούλονται δὲ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτάσσοντες ἤδη καὶ οὐκέτι αἰτιώμενοι πύρισι. Ποτιδαίας τε γὰρ ἀπανίστασθαι κελεύουσι καὶ Αἴγιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι καὶ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθαιρεῖν· οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι οἶδε ἤκοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας προαγορεύουσιν αὐτονόμους ἀφιέναι.

4. ὑμῶν δὲ μηδεὶς νομίση περὶ βραχέος ἂν πολεμεῖν, εἰ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα μὴ καθέλοιμεν, ὅπερ μάλιστα προὔχονται εἰ καθαιρεθείη, μὴ ἂν γίγνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, μηδ' ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ὑπολίπησθε ὥς διὰ μικρὸν ἐπολεμήσατε. 5. τὸ γὰρ βραχὺ τι τοῦτο πᾶσαν ὑμῶν ἔχει τὴν βεβαίωσιν καὶ πείραν τῆς γνώμης, οἷς εἰ ξυγχωρήσετε, καὶ ἄλλο τι μείζον εὐθὺς ἐπιταχθήσεσθε ὥς φόβῳ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπακούσαντες· ἀπισχυρισάμενοι δὲ σαφὲς ἂν καταστήσαιτε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὑμῖν μᾶλλον προσφέρεσθαι.

CXLI.—1. “Αὐτόθεν δὴ διανοήθητε ἢ ὑπακούειν πρὶν τι βλαβῆναι. ἢ εἰ πολεμήσομεν, ὥς ἔμοιγε ἄμεινον δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχείᾳ ὁμοίως προφάσει μὴ εἰζόντες μηδὲ ξὺν φόβῳ ἔξοντες ἃ κεκτήμεθα. τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν δύναται δούλωσιν ἢ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη. 2. τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ὥς οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔχομεν γνῶτε καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκούοντες. αὐτουργοὶ τε γὰρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οὔτε ἰδίᾳ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ χρήματί ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα χρόνιων πολέμων καὶ διαποντίων ἄπειροι διὰ τὸ βραχέως αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ πενίας ἐπιφέρειν. καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε ναῦς πληροῦντες οὔτε πεζῆς στρατιᾶς πολλάκις ἐκπέμπειν δύνανται, ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε ἅμα ἀπόντες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες καὶ προσέτι καὶ θαλάσσης εἰργόμενοι· αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσι. 3. σώμασί τε ἐτοιμότεροι οἱ αὐτουργοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ χρήμασι πολεμεῖν, τὸ μὲν πιστὸν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κἂν περιγενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐ βέβαιον μὴ οὐ προαναλώσειν, ἄλλως τε κἂν παρὶ δόξαν, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς μηκύνηται. 4. μάχῃ μὲν γὰρ μιᾷ πρὸς ἅπαντας Ἕλληνας δυνατοὶ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀντισχεῖν, πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πρὸς

ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀδύνατοι, ὅταν μίτε βουλευτηρίῳ ἐνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρημί τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελώσι, πάντες τε ἰσόψηφοι ὄντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος σπεύδῃ· ἐξ ὧν φιλεῖ μηδὲν ἐπιτελὲς γίγνεσθαι. 5. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὡς μάλιστα τιμωρήσασθαι τινα βούλονται, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἥκιστα τὰ οἰκεῖα φθέραι. χρόνιοί τε ξυνιόντες ἐν βραχεὶ μὲν μορίῳ σκοποῦσί τι τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δὲ πλέονι τὰ οἰκεῖα πρᾶσσουσιν· καὶ ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἶεται βλάψειν, μέλειν δέ τινι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τι προῖδεῖν, ὥστε τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἰδίᾳ δοξάσματι λανθάνειν τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον φθειρόμενον.

CXLII.—1. “Μέγιστον δὲ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων σπάνει κωλύσονται, ὅταν σχόλῃ αὐτὰ ποριζόμενοι διαμέλλωσι· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἢ ἐπιτείχισις οὐδὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλιν ἀντίπαλον παρασκευάσασθαι, ἥπου δὴ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτετειχισμένων· 2. φρούριον δ' εἰ ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἂν τι μέρος καταδρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολίαις, οὐ μέντοι ἱκανόν γε ἔσται ἐπιτεχίζειν τε κωλύειν ἡμᾶς πλεύσαντας ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων καί, ἥπερ ἰσχύομεν, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι. πλέον γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἐκείνοι ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἥπειρον ἐς τὰ ναυτικά. 3. τὸ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιστήμονας γενέσθαι οὐ ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς προσγενήσεται. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς, μελετώντες αὐτὸ εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, ἐξείργασθέ πω· πῶς δὴ ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι, καὶ προσέτι οὐδὲ μελετῆσαι ἐασόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολλαῖς ναυσὶν αἰεὶ ἐφορμείσθαι, ἄξιον ἂν τι δρῶεν; 4. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας ἐφορμούσας καὶ διακινδυνεύσειαν πλῆθει τὴν ἀμαθίαν θρασύνοντες, πολλαῖς δὲ εἰργόμενοι ἡσυχάσουσι, καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ἀξυνετώ-

τεροι ἔσονται καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ ὀκνηρότεροι. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, ὅταν τύχη, ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ πάρεργον ἄλλο γίνεσθαι.

CXLIH.—1. “ Εἴ τε καὶ κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπίαισιν ἢ Δελφοῖς χρημάτων μισθῷ μείζονι πειρῶντο ἡμῶν ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς ξένους τῶν ναυτῶν, μὴ ὄντων μὲν ἡμῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐσβάντων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετοίκων δεινὸν ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ τόδῃ τε ὑπάρχει καί, ὅπερ κράτιστον, κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολίτας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους ἢ πᾶσα ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. 2. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν ξένων τὴν τε αὐτοῦ φεύγειν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἡσσανος ἅμα ἐλπίδος ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἔνεκα μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως ἐκείνοις ξυναγωνίζεσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν Πελοποννησίων ἔμοιγε τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα τούτων τε ὧν περ ἐκείνοις ἐμεμφάμην ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μεγάλα ἔχειν. 3. ἦν τ' ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν περὶ ἡμῶν ἴωσιν, ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων πλευσοῦμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἔσται Πελοποννήσου μέρος τι τμηθῆναι καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἅπασαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἄλλην ἀντιλαβεῖν ἀμαχεῖ. ἡμῖν δέ ἐστι γῆ πολλή καὶ ἐν νήσοις καὶ κατ' ἥπειρον. μέγα γὰρ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κράτος. 4. σκέψασθε δέ· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμὲν νησιῶται, τίνες ἂν ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν; καὶ νῦν χρὴ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοηθέντας τὴν μὲν γῆν καὶ οἰκίας ἀφεῖναι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης καὶ πόλεως φυλακὴν ἔχειν, καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὀργισθέντας πολλῷ πλείοσι μὴ διαμάχεσθαι (κρατήσαντές τε γὰρ αὐθις οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι μαχοῦμεθα καὶ ἦν σφαλῶμεν, τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅθεν ἰσχύομεν, προσάπολλυται· 5. οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχάσουσι μὴ ἱκανῶν ἡμῶν ὄντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν), τὴν τε ὀλόφурсιν μὴ οἰκιῶν καὶ γῆς ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν σωμάτων· οὐ γὰρ τάδε τοὺς

ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνδρες ταῦτα κτῶνται. καὶ εἰ ὅμην πείσειν ὑμᾶς, αὐτοὺς ἂν ἐξελθόντας ἐκέλευον αὐτὰ δηῶσαι καὶ δεῖξαι Πελοποννησίοις ὅτι τούτων γε ἔνεκα οὐχ ὑπακούσεσθε.

CXLIV.—1. “ Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐς ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι, ἣν ἐθέλητε ἀρχὴν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι ἅμα πολεμοῦντες καὶ κινδύνους ἀνθαιρέτους μὴ προστίθεσθαι· μᾶλλον γὰρ πεφόβημαι τὰς οἰκείας ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίας ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων διανοίας. 2. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις δηλωθήσεται· νῦν δὲ τούτοις ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀποπέμψωμεν, Μεγαρέας μὲν ὅτι ἐάσομεν ἀγορᾷ καὶ λιμέσι χρῆσθαι, ἣν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξυνηλασίας μὴ ποιῶσι μήτε ἡμῶν μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ξυμμάχων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνο κωλύει [ἐν] ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε), τὰς τε πόλεις ὅτι αὐτονομίους ἀφήσομεν, εἰ καὶ αὐτονομίους ἔχοντες ἐσπείσάμεθα καὶ ὅταν κακῆνοι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀποδώσι πόλεσι μὴ σφίσιν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδείως αὐτονομεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκάστοις ὥς βούλονται· δίκας δὲ ὅτι ἐθέλομεν δοῦναι κατὰ τὰς ξυνηθείκας, πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἀμυνόμεθα. ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαια καὶ πρέποντα ἅμα τῇδε τῇ πόλει ἀποκρίνασθαι. 3. εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι ἀνάγκη πολεμεῖν· ἣν δὲ ἐκούσιοι μᾶλλον, δεχόμεθα ἥσσον ἐγκεισομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔξομεν· ἕκ τε τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ὅτι καὶ πόλει καὶ ἰδιώτῃ μέγισται τιμαὶ περιγίγνονται. οἱ γοῦν πατέρες ἡμῶν ὑποστάντες Μήδους καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὀρμώμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐκλιπόντες, γνώμῃ τε πλείονι ἢ τύχῃ καὶ τὸλμῃ μείζονι ἢ δυνάμει τόν τε βάρβαρον ἀπέώσαντο καὶ ἐς τὰδε προήγαγον αὐτά· ὧν οὐ χρὴ λείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἐχθροὺς παντὶ πρόπῳ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι.”

CXLV.—1. Ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς τοιαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δ'

Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες ἄριστα σφίσι παραινεῖν αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο ἃ ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπεκρίναντο τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ, καθ' ἑκάστῃ τε ὡς ἔφρασε καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν. οὐδὲν κελευόμενοι ποιήσκειν, δίκη δὲ κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐπρεσβεύοντο.

CXLVI.—1. Αἰτίαι δὲ αὗται καὶ διαφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρξάμεναι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ καὶ Κερκύρᾳ. ἐπεμίγνυντο δὲ ὁμῶς ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφοίτων ἀκηρύκτως μὲν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὐ· σπονδῶν γὰρ ξύγχυσις τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν καὶ πρόφασις τοῦ πολεμεῖν.

NOTES ON THUCYDIDES.

BOOK I.

i. 1. "Thucydides of Athens composed an account of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians—how they carried it on against one another,—having begun [his task of drawing up the narrative] straight-way on the outbreak of hostilities, and having anticipated that it would prove important, and more worthy of record than any preceding, grounding his surmise upon the fact that they were both flourishing in every resource for it, and because he saw the rest of Greece siding with one party or the other, some States at once, others contemplating such a step." Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος. When speaking of himself as a *writer*, Thucydides either uses his name without any adjunct whatever, as in the formula with which he concludes his account of the hostile operations of each successive year, or else he adds thereto the epithet derived from the name of his birthplace, as here and in V. xxvi. 1. When, on the other hand, he introduces mention of himself in his *military* capacity, he styles himself, in conformity with the usual official style, "Thucydides, the son of Olorus," as in IV. civ. 2; Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου.—For ἦσαν a few copies have ἦσαν.—τὸ δὲ διανοούμενον. As in the case of Syracuse and the other Doric cities of Sicily.

2. "For this, in sooth, was the greatest commotion which ever took place among the Greeks and a considerable portion of the barbarians, and, so to speak, extending to the bulk of the human race; for whilst on the one hand it were impossible on account of the length of time, to investigate with accuracy the anterior events and those yet more ancient, nevertheless, on the other hand, from those evidences which I, (searching as far back as possible), place reliance upon, I conclude that they were not important either as regards battles or in any other particular." τῶν βαρβάρων. He refers to the Thracians, the Macedonians, a portion of the Epirotes, the Sicilians, and perhaps also the Persians. Thucydides considers the Peloponnesian war as surpassing in importance even the Persian war; though he subsequently (I. xxiii. 1.) tells us that this last was itself of greater moment than any preceding. πρὸ αὐτῶν = πρὸ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν = πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τῶν Πελοποννησίων. So the Persian war is frequently referred to as τὰ Μηδικά.—ᾧν, the object of πιστεῦσαι, is attracted into the genitive by its antecedent, τεκμηρίων. But Goeller explains ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ᾧν as = ἐκ δὲ τῶν τεκμηρίων ἐξ ᾧν. So in Corn. Nep. Timoleon v, *liceret de quo vellet impune dicere* = *liceret de illo homine impune dicere, de quo dicere vellet*.

ii. 1. "For it is an ascertained fact, that what is now called Hellas was in the olden times not inhabited in a settled manner, but that there used formerly to be migrations, and that each [tribe] readily abandoned its own district, being overpowered by others, as they ever and anon came in

greater numbers. For as there was no traffic, and the people did not trade fearlessly with one another either by land or by sea,—but they used their own possessions each just as far as was sufficient to live upon them, and had no overplus substance, and did not plant the land, since it was uncertain (as they were at the same time unprotected by walls) when another might come and take it away from them,—and as they calculated [ἡγουμένοι] upon being able everywhere to get the needful daily subsistence, they used to emigrate without regret; and it was for this reason that they were not powerful either from the magnitude of their cities or from their other resources.” *Φάνεται = constat*. On the use of this word with a participle, the reader may consult the Editor's Greek Delectus, p. 72.

2, 3. “And the best of the land especially was always having changes of inhabitants, both what is now called Thessaly, and Boeotia, and, except Arcadia, most of the Peloponnesus, and the best portions of the remainder; for, through the excellence of the soil, both (1) the powers of certain individuals became greater, and caused feuds among them, from which they were debilitated, and (2) at the same time they were the more plotted against by other tribes. Attica, at any rate, being from the remotest period [ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον] free from factions, on account of the poorness of its soil,—the same men inhabited it continuously. And this is no trifling confirmation of my argument, that it was in consequence of migrations that the other parts of Greece did not flourish proportionately: to wit, that those who were expelled from other parts of Greece through war or faction, retired, the most powerful of them, to the Athenians, as to a place of security, and becoming citizens, they straightway, from an early period, made the city still greater by the multitude of its inhabitants; so that afterwards, since Attica was not sufficient for them, they even sent out colonies into Ionia.” καὶ παράδειγμα κ. τ. λ. The distinction between τόδε and τοῦτο, as referring, the one to what follows, the other to what goes before, has been pointed out in the editor's Greek Delectus, p. 1. Nor does there appear to be any necessity for imputing to Thucydides a departure from established usage, as Krüger has done in this instance. The tide of immigration flowing constantly into Attica, and a constant efflux of wealth and power going on from other parts of Greece, and, at the same time, the advancement of the former country being without a parallel,—it is reasonable to conclude that the inequality of progress was owing to the constant migrations.

iii. 1, 2. “But this also indicates to me very clearly the weakness of the ancients: to wit, that it is an ascertained fact, that, before the Trojan war, Hellas undertook nothing in common; and it is my opinion, that they did not yet even possess this name as a body; nay, that before the time of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, this appellation did not exist at all, but that, on the contrary, both (1) in other tribes, and (2) in the Pelasgian to the widest extent of all, they furnished the surname from themselves; and so, when Hellen and his sons had become powerful in Phthiotis, and men invited them into other communities for their assistance, they now began, in consequence of this intercommunication, to be called, one tribe after another, Hellenes; but by no means could that name prevail among all, at least for a long time.” οὐχ ἥκιστα = maxime. Compare note on Xenophon's Anabasis, I. iii. 1.—κοιῇ ἐργασαμένη. “embarked in one united undertaking.”—τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. The Pelasgic nation

occupied the greatest extent of country.—*τῶν παιδῶν*, namely, *Dorus*, *Xuthus*, and *Æolus*.

3. "But Homer furnishes most decisive proof [that the name *Hellenes* was not, in the first instance, common to all], for he, though born much later still than the Trojan war, has nowhere called the whole of them by that name, nor any except those who came with Achilles from Phthiotis (who were the first to be called *Hellenes*), but in his poems he styles them throughout *Danai*, and *Argivi*, and *Achæi*." Against the correctness of this statement has been adduced Il. B. 530, *ἐγχείη δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς*. But this verse has been pronounced to be spurious by Zenodotus and Aristarchus. Were it genuine, however, it would in no way militate against the assertion of Thucydides but rather confirm it, inasmuch as in it *Πανέλληνες*, the people of Achilles, are mentioned in contradistinction to the *Achæans*, or *Peloponnesians*.

4. "Nor yet has he [Homer] made use of the term 'barbarians,' because, as it appears to me, the Greeks had not yet segregated themselves into one denomination [viz. *Hellenes*] in opposition thereto [*i. e.* to the barbarians]. They, then, [*i. e.* the Greeks]—both (1) when singly called *Hellenes*, one community (as many as understood one another's language) after another, and also (2) afterwards when called so collectively,—did nothing in concert before the Trojan war, owing to their feebleness and their want of intercommunication with one another; but for this expedition they came together, as they now used the sea more."

iv. 1. "Now *Minos* is the most ancient of those whom we know of by tradition who possessed a fleet, and he for the most part mastered what is now called the Grecian Sea, and obtained the government of the *Cyclades*, and was the first coloniser of most of them, having driven out the *Carians* and constituted his own sons governors; and piracy, as was natural, he swept from the sea as far as he could, for the sake of his revenues coming to him more readily [more safely]." *Kāpas*. *Minos* expelled probably only that section of the *Carian* population which pertinaciously resisted the installation of his sons into the government, or whose ulterior machinations he desired to guard against. We are told by *Herodotus* that the *Carians* continued their residence on the islands, as subjects of *Minos*, but without paying any tax upon their property: they also, (probably in common with the *Cretan* colonists whom he had introduced), rendered him much service as mariners. At a later period, however, the old inhabitants of the islands were so nearly exterminated by the *Dorians* and *Ionians*, that, in the course of a few years, their distinguishing characteristics, national and linguistic, totally disappeared.

v. 1. "For the Greeks of old, and of the barbarians such as dwelt on the mainland near the sea and those who inhabited the islands, when once they had begun more frequently to pass over to one another in ships, turned their attention to piracy, (men high in power leading them for the sake of their own gain, and of subsistence for their infirm); and attacking communities unprotected by walls and dwelling in villages, they plundered, and by this means made the greatest part of their livelihood,—for this occupation had as yet no disgrace attaching to it, but brought with it some measure even of glory." * *πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκου-*

* The portraiture given by Thucydides in this and the preceding chapters

μείνας. Besides the interpretation assigned above to these words, there is another: "cities unfortified and built like villages," that is, in a straggling and incompact manner. Compare I. x. 3.

2, 3. "This [referring to the clause *οὐκ ἔχοντος . . . δόξης μᾶλλον*] (1) some of the continentalists still show, since to them it is a source of pride to act thus [if it be done] in an honourable manner, and (2) the ancient poets [show or prove it], for they everywhere without distinction ask of those who enter a port questions as to whether they are robbers [= pirates], since (1) those from whom they make the enquiry do not disclaim the occupation as unworthy, and (2) those to whom it is a matter of interest to know [= the enquirers] do not reproach them on the subject." *καλῶς*. This is supposed by some to mean, with a certain amount of humanity and without the exercise of indiscriminating violence and cruelty; never, for instance, committing murder, or carrying off the beasts employed in agriculture. Others, however, understand the word to mean cleverly, adroitly.—*οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν*. For example, Hom. Od. Γ. 71 and I. 52.—*ἐλπίζοντο κ. τ. λ.*, "and on the continent, too, they used to plunder one another: and to this day much of Greece lives after the ancient style,—all about the Ozolian Locrians, the Ætolians, the Acarnanians, and on the mainland thereabouts; and the custom of wearing arms has preserved itself among those continentalists from the ancient piracy." Some refer *τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ* to the primitive custom of dwelling in detached and scattered villages, others to the equally primitive custom of gaining a livelihood by rapine and plunder. There does not, however, appear to be any necessity for fixing and restricting the meaning of an expression which Thucydides may have used with the utmost generality of signification. He wishes to explain how it is that the contemporary inhabitants of some portions of Greece habitually wear arms, and he does so thus: In former times we continental Greeks used to plunder one another: the present custom, prevalent in some parts, of wearing weapons, is a vestige of the then-existent state of things,—for much of Greece still retains the essential features of a by-gone period. Then,—in case any of his readers should be obtuse enough not to discern the connection between a lawless and piratical and unorganised state of society,

of the normal state of Greece presents several points of resemblance to Macaulay's description of the social and political character of the Highlanders about the time of the revolution. Compare, for instance, the following passage: "While the old Gaelic institutions were in full vigour, no account of them was given by any observer qualified to judge of them fairly. Had such an observer studied the character of the Highlanders, he would have found in it closely intermingled the good and the bad qualities of an uncivilised nation. He would have found that the people had no love for their country or their king; that they had no attachment to any commonwealth larger than the clan, or to any magistrate superior to the chief. He would have found that life was governed by a code of morality and honour widely different from that which is established in peaceful and prosperous societies. . . . He would have found that robbery was held to be a calling not merely innocent but honourable. . . . A high-born warrior was much more becomingly employed in plundering the lands of others than in tilling his own."

and the habit of going about armed,—he proceeds at the beginning of the following chapter, further to elucidate the matter.

vi. 1. "For all Greece used to wear arms on account of their unfortified dwellings and their insecure routes of communication with each other; and they passed their ordinary life with arms, just like the barbarians [do now]: and those parts of Greece still living in this way are a proof of like modes of living which once extended to all."

2. "Now the Athenians were the first of all to lay aside their arms and to pass over from an abandoned [*i. e.*, dissolute, irregular, and unrestrained] mode of living to one more luxurious; and it is not a great while since their elderly men of the well-to-do classes left off (1) wearing—on account of their effeminacy—flaxen under-garments and (2) doing up a knot of the hair of the head [= doing up their hair in a knot] with a fastening of golden grasshoppers." *ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι κ. τ. λ.* is an abbreviated form of the fuller expression *ἐν τοῖς τὸν σίδηρον καταθεμένοις πρῶτοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέθεντο*. Compare VIII. xc. 1, *ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου ἐναντίος τῷ δήμῳ*. Thucydides, however, frequently employs this *ἐν τοῖς* without any regard to its original usage as a representative formula of a longer expression, and treats it as an inseparable adjunct of the superlative which follows. Here *ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι* is used as a kind of compound word, and hence the position of the *δέ*. So completely was this *ἐν τοῖς* looked upon as an inseparable, and therefore unalterable, prefix of the superlative that we find it unchanged before feminine adjectives; as *ἐν τοῖς πλείσται δὴ νῆες*, *ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ*, &c.

κρωβύλον. The *κρωβύλος* was a roll of hair knotting on the crown of the head: a similar coiffure of young girls was called *κόρυμβος*. Xenophon uses the word of the hair on a helmet. (L. and Sc.)—*τεττίγων*. These hair-pins were shaped like grasshoppers (*τεττίγες* = cicadæ). The Athenians believed these little animals to have been the primeval and spontaneous production of the earth; and by wearing golden ornaments of a similar form upon their heads, they desired to symbolise the originality of the tenure by which they, who prided themselves upon being *αὐτοχθόνες*, possessed the country they inhabited.

3, 4. "Hence it was that for a long time this fashion prevailed among the elderly persons of the Ionians, on account of their affinity. Clothing of ordinary description, on the other hand, and conformable to the present style, the Lacedæmonians were the first to use; and in other respects those of them who had greater possessions, by a similar mode of life ordered themselves as the many. They were the first, also, who stripped themselves, and, pulling off their clothes in public, anointed themselves with fat for athletic exercises: whereas formerly, even in the Olympic games, the wrestlers used to contend with (*ἔχοντες*) belts around their loins, and it has not been many years left off. And even still there are among the barbarians, and particularly among the Asiatics, those with whom prizes are instituted for boxing and wrestling, and this they do wearing girdles. And in many other respects might one show that the ancient Greeks lived in a similar manner to the barbarians of the present day." *οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη*. We know that the Lacedæmonian Acanthus was the first who, (after that Orsippus of Megara had accidentally lost his girdle in the stadium at Olympia and had in consequence gained the victory), entered the race-course naked; and that he also won. This event

took place Ol. 15, at too remote a period for Thucydides to designate the interval which had elapsed as *οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη*. Many critics conclude, therefore, that it was only in the case of racing men that the covering was so early dispensed with, and that it was not until near the time when Thucydides wrote that athletes generally engaged in their exercises in a state of nudity.

vii. 1, 2. "But of the cities, such as have been founded most recently and (things being now more favourable to navigation) have a greater abundance of wealth, were built with walls on the very shores and occupied the isthmuses, both for the sake of traffic and for the sake of resistance each community against its neighbours. The ancient cities, on the contrary, on account of the long-prevalent piracy, were—both those on the islands and those on the mainland (for such as dwelt on the coast plundered one another even though not seamen)—rather built away from the sea, and are up to the present day still situated inland."—*αἱ παλαιαί*. For instance, Argos, Sicyon, Mycenæ, Cæcropia, Cadmea.

viii. 1. "And no less [= much more] were the islanders robbers, that is to say, Carians and Phœnicians; for they had colonised most of the islands, as the following circumstance proves: when Delos was being purified by the Athenians in this war and all the dead men's sepulchres in the island were broken open, above a half were plainly Carians, being recognised by the array of arms buried with them and by the [peculiar] manner in which they still inter [their corpses]." *Δήλου*. Cf. III. civ. —*ῥκησαν*. Concerning the settlements of the Carians and Phœnicians upon the islands, see Herodotus, I. clxxi., IV. cxlvii., &c.—*τῇ σκευῇ τῶν ὀπλων*. It was the custom of the Carians to bury with the corpse a shield and crest, probably in commemoration of the fact that they first introduced the bosses upon shields and the crests upon helmets.—*τῷ τρόπῳ*. The Phœnicians used to lay the faces of their dead towards the west, other nations towards the east.—*θάπτειν*. This word is used sometimes of burning the dead, and sometimes of burying them; here manifestly of the latter. Lucian says that the Greeks were accustomed to dispose of their corpses by fire, the Persians by interment. That his statement is by no means universally true is proved by many passages in the ancient authors. In Homer, II. χ. 127, ω. 787, we read of the dead being burnt, but in Herodotus I. 68, of the bones of Orestes being found at Tegea. Compare Plato, Phædo, chap. 148, *τὸ σῶμα ἢ καίόμενον ἢ καταρυσσόμενον*.

2, 3. "But when the fleet of Minos had come into play, maritime communication one with another became more general: for the evil-doers were ejected by him from the islands at the time when he colonised most of them. And now it was that the sea-coast people, regarding the acquisition of property as more worth their while, began to lead a more settled life, and some, becoming more wealthy than they had been, even surrounded themselves with walls: for the inferior sort of people, influenced by a desire for gain, endured a state of servitude to their betters; and the more powerful, being possessed of abundance, brought under subjection the weaker cities. And it was when they were already pretty much (*μᾶλλον*) in this condition that they undertook the expedition against Troy."

ix. 1, 2. "And it seems to me that it was because he excelled his contemporaries in power, and not so much as the mere leader of Helen's suitors bound by ['and,' by implication, 'in fulfilment of'] their oath to Tydarus,

that Agamemnon collected this expedition. And those who by tradition from their forefathers have received the most perspicuous account of Peloponnesian affairs, say (1) that Pelops—having first surrounded himself with power by means of the quantity of treasure which he brought with him (ἤλθεν ἔχων) from Asia among needy men,—gave the name to the place, although he was an immigrant; and (2) that still greater power was acquired by his descendants, since Eurystheus died in Attica by the hands of the Heraclidæ, and Atreus was his [Eurystheus'] mother's brother, and Eurystheus when he went on the expedition had entrusted Mycenæ and its government to Atreus on account of this relationship; and (3) that he [Atreus] was at the time a fugitive from his father on account of the murder of Chrysippus; and (4) that,—(a) as Eurystheus did not return again, and (b) the Mycenæans themselves wishing it on account of their fear of the Heraclidæ, at the same time that he appeared to be powerful and had conciliated the multitude,—Atreus obtained the sovereignty over the Mycenæans and all whom Eurystheus had governed; and (5) that thus the Pelopidæ became more powerful than the Perseidæ." In this long and involved sentence, the clauses immediately dependent on λέγουσι are

- (1) Πέλοπα τὴν ἑπωνυμίαν τῆς χώρας σχεῖν,
- (2) τοῖς ἐκγόνοις (αὐτοῦ) ἔτι μείζω (δύναμιν) ξυνενεχθῆναι,
- (3) αὐτὸν (= Ἀτρέα) τυγχάνειν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ κ. τ. λ.,
- (4) Ἀτρέα τὴν βασιλείαν . . . παραλαβεῖν,
- (5) τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήναι.

Now with regard to (1) the fact that (although Pelops ἐπηλύτης ἦν) he nevertheless τὴν ἑπωνυμίαν τῆς χώρας ἔσχε, is explained by an intimation that πρῶτον περιεποιήσατο δύναμιν; and to the question, "How did he effect this?" the answer is πλήθει χρημάτων κ. τ. λ. The clauses (3), (4), and (5), though independent of (2) in construction, are, in some measure, the former two explanatory of it, the last one amplificatory of it and reiterative. When Eurystheus set out on his expedition against the Heraclidæ, he left a regent in his place; this regent was Atreus, an exile from his father's house in consequence of having murdered Chrysippus; Eurystheus was killed in Attica, and therefore never returned to Mycenæ; now these circumstances,—combined with the facts that Atreus during his regency had rendered himself popular, and that the Mycenæans, in their dread of the Heraclidæ, wished for a powerful and influential man like him at the head of affairs,—secured to Atreus the sovereignty once enjoyed by Eurystheus. Thus the house of Perseus was superseded by the house of Pelops. Eurystheus was son of Sthenelus, grandson of Perseus. He was slain by Hyllus. Chrysippus was the son of Pelops by a nymph. He was slain by Atreus and Thyestes, the legitimate sons of Pelops, at the instigation of their mother Hippodamia.—τὴν ἑπωνυμίαν σχεῖν. The person who gives his name to a country, or from whom a country derives its name, is called its ἐπώνυμος. Compare Sophocles, *Œd. B. v.* The meaning of the word is therefore, in strictness, the reverse of that of our word "namesake." The ἐπώνυμος is said τὴν ἑπωνυμίαν σχεῖν, "to have the bestowal of one's name," "to give one's name to a place."

3. "And it seems to me that Agamemnon having inherited these dignities, and at the same time having, through his fleet, become more powerful than the others [= than contemporary princes], assembled and

conducted the expedition less from favour than from fear [less from the attractions it possessed for those who joined in it, than from their dread of displeasing Agamemnon by withholding their co-operation]: for it is clear that he was himself the one who came with the greatest number of ships, and that he lent some besides to the Arcadians; as Homer has shown, if he be to any one a sufficient witness to prove it. And at the same time in the [passage about the] transmission of the sceptre, he [Homer] has said that he [Agamemnon] 'ruled over many islands and over all Argos': now he, being a continentalist, could not have been master of any islands beyond the neighbouring ones—and they could not be 'many,'—unless he had also possessed something of a fleet. Now from this expedition we have to infer the character of those which preceded it."—*ναυσί τε πλείεσταις*. Compare Homer, *Il. B.* 576, 610, 708. In *οὐ χάριτι* there is a sarcastic allusion to Hom. *Od. E.* 307, *χάριν Ἀτρείδῃσι φέροντες*.

x. 1, 2, 3. "Now because, forsooth, Mycenæ was small,—or if any of its co-existent states appear at the present day unworthy of note,—would be no certain criterion for any one to use who should disbelieve that that armament was as considerable as the poets have described, and as tradition maintains. For suppose the city of the Lacedæmonians were laid desolate, only the temples and the foundations of its public edifices being left,—I reckon that when a long time had elapsed there would be great disbelief among those then existing of their [i. e. the Lacedæmonians'] power [having been] commensurate with their glory; (and yet, of the five divisions of Peloponnesus they are *possessed* of two, and they are *leaders* of the whole and of the many allied external powers; but, nevertheless, since their city is not compactly built, nor possessed of costly temples and public edifices, but inhabited in groups of houses after the primitive fashion in Greece, it would appear inferior). But, on the other hand, suppose that the *Athenians* were to suffer the same fate, (I think) their power would be conjectured to have been twofold what it really is, from the aspect of the city to the eye [i. e. from the appearance which its ruins would present to those who should gaze upon it after its destruction]." *Μυκῆναι μικρόν*. Poppo reminds us of the yet remaining magnificent ruins of Mycenæ,—the rich treasury of Atreus, with its Lions' Gate and Cyclopian walls,—through which the assertion of Strabo that there is no longer any vestige of Mycenæ to be seen, receives a direct contradiction. At the same time he is of opinion that the existence of these remains does not involve Thucydides in the charge of misrepresentation; for, firstly, their circumference is inconsiderable; secondly, ruins of equal magnitude are found at Tyrinthus, and in other places which no one has ever looked upon as great; and, finally, the buildings were an evidence rather of the architectural skill of its ancient inhabitants, than of the political weight and influence of their state.—*τῶν πέντε*, namely, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, Arcadia (which comprehended Elis), and Achaia.—*Ἀθηναίων δέ κ. τ. λ.* Ullrich remarks that this observation would not hold good of Athens during the entire course of the war, by which the power of that state was crippled and its population sensibly diminished. But it seems to me that the words of Thucydides would apply with greatest force to the period of Athens' most complete prostration; for, a sudden destruction befalling the state *then*, the discrepancy would be all the greater between a correct estimate of its recent political status, and

the conclusion which an uninformed spectator, gazing upon its yet grand and magnificent *material* remains, would be likely to form as to its *moral* influence and national greatness.

4, 5, 6, 7. "So that it is reasonable not to be sceptical [on these points], nor to have regard rather to their aspects than their powers, but to view that [i. e. the Trojan] expedition as having been greater than any preceding, though outdone by those of our own day,—provided that here again we may place any reliance upon the account of Homer (which it was natural for him, being a poet, to have embellished, but, even so, [accepting his exaggerated narrative], it is nevertheless manifestly inferior). For of 1200 ships he has represented those of the Bœotians as carrying 120 men each, and those of Philoctetes 50, thus showing, as it appears to me, the greatest and the least; concerning the size of the others at all events he has not made any mention in his catalogue of ships. But that all hands were both rowers and fighting-men he has expressly stated in the case of the ships of Philoctetes; for he has made all the rowers archers. It is not probable that many supernumeraries [i. e. people who didn't row] sailed with them, except princes and those highest in office, especially as they were about to cross the sea with munitions of war and, on the other hand, did not have their vessels decked, but fitted up more in the manner of privateers in the olden style. When, therefore, we consider the mean between the largest and the smallest ships, it becomes plain that there were not many who went, *considering that they were sent from all Greece in common.*" *χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων.* The exact number of ships was 1186. Concerning the Bœotian ships, see Iliad B. 510; and for Philoctetes, B. 719. [Dean Smith, in a note accompanying his translation, founds upon the estimate of Thucydides a calculation as to the gross number of men employed in the expedition against Troy. Adopting the approximate round numbers, as to the ships, given by Thucydides, he says, "the mean between 120 and 50 is 85, and $85 \times 1200 = 102,000$," = the total number of men. The unwarrantable assumption involved in the process leading to this result is that the numbers of vessels of the highest rate, of the lowest rate, and of the intermediate rates, were so proportioned to one another that the aggregate crews of *all* above the medium size, should equal the aggregate crews of *all* below the medium size. It would be equally reasonable to infer that a fleet consisting of ships of 100 guns and ships of 20 guns (with or without intermediate rates) would in all cases be represented, as to the number of guns carried, by a fleet consisting of the same number of vessels, but all of the uniform rate of 60 guns].

xi. 1. "And the cause of this was not so much scarcity of men as want of money. For the army which they [the Greeks] brought with them was less numerous [than it would otherwise have been] on account of their dearth of provisions, and only so large as they expected would derive the means of subsistence [*βιοτεύσειν*] from the country itself whilst warring there; and when on their arrival [upon Trojan ground] they had been victorious in a battle, (and that this was so is evident, for otherwise they could not have fortified their encampment with a wall), it is certain that they did not even then employ all their force, but, from the difficulty of subsistence, turned to the cultivation of the Chersonesus and to pillage." *τὸ ἔρμα.* Not the wall described by Homer, Il. η. 337, 435; but one

not mentioned by him, and built at an early period after their first landing. *πρὸς γεωργίαν*. The Scholiast seems to have known the poetic source from which this statement is derived, inasmuch as he introduces Acamas and Antimachus as the leaders of these agriculturalists. *ληστείαν*. Compare Homer, *Il. a.* 366 sqq.; *i.* 328 sq., *v.* 92.

2. "Thus, dispersed as they [the Greeks] were, the Trojans the more easily opposed them by force for the ten years, inasmuch as they were a match for those who were from time to time left behind [to carry on the operations of the siege. The Trojans always found themselves a match for the 'effectives' of the Grecian army present on the spot]. If, on the other hand, they had come with abundance of provisions, and in a concentrated mass had prosecuted the war continuously without plundering and without agriculture, they would easily have captured [the city] from their superiority in the field, for even when they were not concentrated but had a part of their army present in succession, they maintained their ground." If the Greeks had come with such supplies of provisions as would have obviated the necessity of their detaching parties to forage and to cultivate the ground, the fall of Troy would speedily have ensued, for even with their continually reduced numbers they rendered abortive every effort of the enemy to compel them to raise the siege.

3. "Whereas had they sat down before the city in a regular siege they would have taken Troy in a shorter time and with less difficulty. But through want of money both the undertakings anterior to this were trivial, and even this itself,—though certainly more celebrated than any preceding,—is shown by facts to have been incommensurate in magnitude with its fame and with the estimate now prevalent concerning it through the representations of the poets."

xii. 1, 2, 3. "For even after the events connected with Troy, Greece still kept migrating and being squatted upon, so that for want of quiet it could not advance in power. For (1) the return of the Greeks from Troy, having taken place after a lengthened interval [of absence], caused many innovations; and (2) seditions kept bursting out generally speaking in the cities, and those who were expelled in consequence thereof founded other cities. The present Bœotians, for instance, in the sixtieth year after the taking of Troy, retiring from Arne before the Thessalians, colonised the land now called Bœotia, formerly Cadmeis, (there was also once a division of them in this land, of whom were those who joined the expedition against Troy); and in the eightieth year [after the same event] the Dorians with the Heracleidæ took possession of the Peloponnesus. And so Greece, having with difficulty after a great length of time, attained to a state of settled peace and being no longer in a nomadic state, began to send out colonies; and the Athenians colonised Ionia and most of the islands, and the Peloponnesians the greater part of Italy and Sicily, and portions of the rest of Greece; now all these were founded after the Trojan war." *ἐξ Ἀρνῆς*, "from Arne," in Thessaly.—*Ἰταλίας*. In the time of Thucydides, this name was applied only to the southernmost portion of the peninsula.

xiii. 1. "Now Greece becoming more powerful and studying yet more than before the acquisition of property, despotic monarchies began to establish themselves to a great extent in their cities, as the revenues became greater, (whereas previously there were hereditary kingly govern-

ments with stated [=determinate, specified, and, by implication, limited] prerogatives): and Greece began to equip fleets and to devote herself more to the sea." — πατρικαί, hereditary, not in conformity with the requirements of any constitutional principle, but from long-established usage.

2. "Now the Corinthians are said to have been the first to modify their ships and gear in close accordance with the present fashion, and [it is said] that triremes were built in Corinth before any other part of Greece: and it is also an ascertained fact that Ameinocles, a Corinthian shipwright, built four ships for the Samians; and from when Ameinocles came to Samos to the termination of the war which forms my subject [τοῦδε, see Greek Delectus, p. 1] is about three hundred years." *τριήρεις*. The Greek *τριήρης* and the Latin *triremis* are strictly both adjectives agreeing the one with *ναῦς*, the other with *navis*, expressed or understood. Triremes were ships having three tiers or banks of oars one above the other. The sailors who manned the lowest tier were called *θαλαμιοί*, those above *ζυγῖται*, and the highest row of all *θρανῖται*. The last must have exercised their strength at a great disadvantage, in consequence of the height of the fulcrum on which the oar rested above the surface of the water; they were better paid than the *ζυγῖται*, and these again better than the *θαλάμιοι*. Ships having only two tiers of oars were called *δίκροτα*, those having but one tier were called *μονήρεις*.

3. "The most ancient naval battle that we know of was that of the Corinthians against the Corcyreans, and from this it is about 260 years to the same period. For since the city which the Corinthians inhabited was upon the isthmus, they had in consequence always traffic; for the Greeks of old (both those within the Peloponnesus and those beyond it) communicated with one another more by land, through their [the Corinthians'] territory, than by water. They were also influential on account of their wealth, as has been shown by the ancient poets, for they have designated the place as 'rich.' " *ἄφνειόν*. *Iliad*, β. 570.

4. "And when the Greeks became a more maritime people, having obtained ships for themselves, they suppressed piracy; and, presenting a mart both ways [i.e. both to sea-traders and land-traders], the city they possessed became powerful from the influx of wealth."

5. "It was a long time after,—in the time of Cyrus, the first king of Persia, and Cambyses, his son,—that the Ionians got a fleet; and, waging war with Cyrus, they commanded the sea along their coast for some time. And Polycrates, being tyrant of Samos in the time of Cambyses, having a strong fleet, both made others of the islands subject to him and also took Rheneia and dedicated it to Delian Apollo. The Phocæans, too, when planting their colony at Marseilles, vanquished the Carthaginians in a sea-fight." *Ῥήνεια*. See III. civ.

xiv. 1, 2, 3. "Now the above-mentioned [ταῦτα] were the most powerful of the fleets [of those days]: but it is clear that even these,—although they existed many generations after the Trojan war,—possessed but few triremes, but were still (like those of that [=the Trojan] time), composed of fifty-oared long boats. And it was but a little prior to the Median war and the death of Darius who was King of the Persians after Cambyses, that triremes in any considerable number came into the possession of the tyrants round about Sicily and of the Corcyreans: these

being the last fleets worthy of record which sprung up in Greece previously to the expedition of Xerxes. For the fleets which the Æginetæ, and the Athenians, and such others, if there were any, [as had fleets] possessed,—[the fleets which these states] possessed were inconsiderable, and for the most part fifty-oared boats. For it was late before Themistocles persuaded the Athenians,—whilst they were at war with the Æginetæ, and, at the same time, the barbarian was expected,—to build for themselves those very ships with which they fought on sea; and these did not yet possess decks over all.”—*Αἰγινήτας πολεμοῦντας*. The Æginetan war described by Herodotus (vi. 88, sqq.) took place shortly *before* the battle of Marathon. But the words *καὶ ἄμα* κ. 2, plainly indicate the period which elapsed *between* the two Persian wars. If, then, we reject the suppositions (1) that Thucydides connects by the words *καὶ ἄμα* statements of events which occurred at an interval of several years from one another, and (2) that Themistocles had on several occasions given his advice for the construction of a fleet—both of which hypotheses are of a questionable character,—we must subscribe to the opinion of Müller, that hostilities had again broken out between the Athenians and the Æginetæ *after* the battle of Marathon. Ships without any deck, or only partially decked over, were called *ἄφρακτοι νῆες* = *naves apertæ*. Those with complete decks were called *κατέφρακτοι*, and the deck itself *κατάστρωμα*. The *πεντηκόντοροι* were of the class called *νῆες μακραί*. They had twenty-five rowers in one rank on each side.

xv. 1, 2. “Such, then, were the navies of Greece, both those of ancient times and those constructed subsequently. But nevertheless those who had applied themselves to them [=to their formation, enlargement, organisation, &c.], acquired for themselves very great strength in consequence of the influx of wealth and their dominion over others. For they used.—particularly such as had an insufficient extent of country,—to sail against and subdue the islands. But by land there had arisen no war, for any power to accrue from; but all these—what there were of them—were with the several communities against their respective neighbours, whilst the Greeks had not yet sent out foreign expeditions from their own land for the subjugation of others.”

3. “For they had not associated themselves to the principal states as subordinates, nor did they on the other hand embark in united undertakings spontaneously on equal terms, but rather the neighbouring communities kept fighting against one another each for itself. It was most of all for the ancient war that was once carried on between the Chaldeans and the Eretrians, that the rest of Greece was divided into leagues on one side or the other.” *ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσῆς (συντελείας)*, “from a joint and equitable contribution.”

xvi. 1. “Now there arose to the different states in different directions hindrances to their increase, and in particular to the Ionians (whose power had advanced to a high pitch), Cyrus with the might of Persia; for he, having subdued Cræsus and all within the river Halys to the sea, invaded them [i.e. the Ionians] and reduced to slavery their cities on the mainland, and Darius afterwards, conquering by means of a Phœnician fleet, [reduced] the islands also.” *Ἰῶσι (ἐπεγένετο) Κύρος*. After *καθελούσα* there is a change of construction as in Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I. i.

Φοινίκων. Overthrown by Cambyzes.—According to Herodotus (I. cxli.

clxix.) the Ionian islands voluntarily gave themselves up to Cyrus; they were first subjugated by Darius after the battle of Lade.

xvii. 1, 2. "And all the tyrants in the Grecian states [i.e. in such Grecian states as were subject to rulers of that class],—having an eye only to what concerned themselves, both as regarded their own persons [= personal safety] and the aggrandisement of their own households,—managed their cities with as little risk as possible; and so no memorable achievement was accomplished by them, unless perhaps something by an individual state against its own neighbours; for the tyrants in Sicily advanced to a very great degree of power. Thus on all sides Greece was for a long time kept down, so that it performed nothing illustrious by united effort, and was also less daring as regards each several state." *τύραννοι*. An example of such a tyrant is presented to us in the case of Periander of Corinth, from the description of whom by Müller the following extract* is particularly applicable to the passage in the text: "For the protection of his person he retained three hundred body-guards. To preserve the city in tranquillity, to avoid violent commotions, was a principle upon which the security of his government rested, and out of which sprung an entire system of policy."—*οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ κ. τ. λ.* If this clause be genuine,—and of this, notwithstanding its awkward position, the expression does not allow us to doubt,—there appears to be no other alternative than to adhere to the interpretation of the scholiast: "I speak now only of such of the *Grecian* states as were under tyrants, for those of *Sicily* attained to distinguished power." This explanation has also been received by Stephanus, Poppo, Goeller, and Arnold.

xviii. 1. "But, after that both the tyrants of the Athenians and those of the rest of Greece, which had to a great extent even before them [i.e. at an earlier period than the Athenians] been subject to the rule of tyrants,—most of them and the last of them except those of Sicily, had been deposed by the Lacedæmonians, (for Lacedæmon, although from the time of its settlement by the Dorians who now inhabit it it had been the theatre of factious proceedings [*στασιόσασα*] longer than any other state we know of, nevertheless from the earliest period was both constitutionally governed and was constantly exempt from tyrannical sway; for it is about four hundred years or a little more to the end of the war I am about to narrate [*τοῦδε*] that the Lacedæmonians enjoy the same form of government, and, from this cause powerful, they have settled the affairs of other states also),—after, [as I have said], the overthrow of the tyrants in Greece, it was not many years subsequently when the battle of Marathon was fought by the Medes against the Athenians; and in the tenth year after that the barbarian a second time came with his famous [*τῷ*] mighty armament with the object of enslaving Greece." *οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος κατελύθησαν=οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατελύθησαν*. So also lower down in the sentence, where the participle is employed. Compare the editor's note on Xenophon's *Anabasis* I. ii. 3.

* Seine Person schützte er durch dreihundert Leibwächter (Arist. Pol. 5, 9, 22. Herakl. Pont. 5. Nik. Dam.) Die Stadt in Ruhe zu erhalten, heftige Bewegungen zu vermeiden, war ein Grundsatz, auf dessen Befolgung die Sicherheit seiner eignen Herrschaft beruhte; und aus dem sich ein ganzes System von Anordnungen ergab.

p. 81. ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη. The battle of Marathon was fought B.C. 544 and, according to Thirlwall on the 16th or 17th of the month called μεταγειτνίων by the Athenians, καρνεῖος by the Lacedæmonians, πανεμος by the Bæotians, and nearly corresponding to the second half of August and the first half of September. The reason why the Athenians were unsupported by the Lacedæmonians on the occasion was, that they were detained at Rome for four days by the religious solemnities attended upon the festival of the καρνεῖα. This was also the case when Xerxes made his attack upon Thermopylæ. On the Pæcile the following epigram was inscribed adjoining the picture of the battle of Marathon :

Ἑλλήνων προμάχοντες, Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι
Ἔκτειναν Μήδων εἴκοσι μυριάδας,

Compare the Life of Miltiades by Cornelius Nepos, and notes on pp. 93—95 of the edition published by Mr. Weale.

2, 3. "And, great danger impending, the Lacedæmonians, as pre-eminent in power, took the lead of those Greeks who leagued in arms against him [Xerxes]; whilst the Athenians, on the approach of the Medes, determined to abandon their city, and, having packed up their goods, embarked in their ships and became maritime [i. e. with the view of opposing him by sea]. Having thus BY A COMBINED EFFORT repelled the barbarians, no long time elapsed before the Greeks (both those who had revolted from the [Persian] king and those who had fought in league against him) were parted on the side of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians respectively; for these states were incontestably the greatest in power, one by land, the other by sea." ἀνασκευασάμενοι, otherwise translated "having laid in stores," So Phavorinus: ἐνεθηκαν ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐπὶ νεῶν τα αὐτῶν σκεύη, ἡγουν τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν ζωῆς ὄντα.—κοινῇ. This was the first instance of combined and united action in Greece. Hence the emphatic character of the "but" with which the chapter commences.—*βασιλέως*. Thucydides calls the Persian monarch 'king' *par excellence*. Xenophon and other writers generally style him 'the great king.'

4, 5. "And for a brief period 'tis true the confederacy held together; but afterwards the Lacedæmonians and Athenians came to a rupture and fought against one another with their respective allies; and if any of the other Greeks had disagreed perchance, they now went over to [one or other of] these: so that ever and anon from the Median invasion until this war, now concluding treaties, now warring either with one another or with such of their own allies as had seceded from them, they had all prepared themselves in military matters and had become more experienced from making their essays in the midst of dangers."

xix. 1. "Now the Lacedæmonians did not keep the allies whom they swayed subject to tribute, but studied only that they should, subserviently to them, govern their states on the principle of an oligarchy, whilst the Athenians had in course of time got possession of the ships of the states [i. e. of the states which were members of their *ἐνυμυχία*] (excepting those of the Chians and Lesbians), and had imposed upon all the contribution of money; and for this war their own independent resources were greater than when, as erst, they were in the most flourishing condition possible with the bond of alliance unweakened." ὥς τα κράτιστα. Hoc fastigium potentiae Atheniensium—referas recte ad tempora paulo ante in-

ducias tricennales, quum Athenienses non solum insularum sed etiam Asiæ minoris dominatum tenebant, Æginetas perdomuerant, atque Phocin, Argos, Bœotiam et Achaïam sibi junctas habebant. *Goeller.*

xx. 1. "Such then have I found to be the ancient state of affairs,—one difficult of credit [i. e. which would be hard to believe] upon every evidence indiscriminately [i. e. upon the faith of any testimony that might offer itself]: for the reports of past events (even though they be those of their own country) men receive from one another all the same without scrutiny (*ἀβασανίστως*)."

2, 3. "The Athenian multitude, for example, think that Hipparchus was murdered by Harmodius and Aristogeiton *as being the tyrant*, and are not aware that it was Hippias who as the eldest of the sons of Pisistratus, was in possession of the government, and that Hipparchus and Thessalus were his brothers: and on that very day, just at the crisis,—suspecting that some information had been given to Hippias by their accomplices,—Harmodius and Aristogeiton abstained from attacking him, as being forewarned; wishing, however, before they should be arrested, to challenge danger by some exploit,—having fallen in with Hipparchus about the so-called Leocorium, whilst he was arranging the Panathenæic procession, they slew him." *Λεωκορίον*. This was an ancient temple, standing in the inner Ceramicus. It was erected to commemorate the immolation of the virgin daughters of Leos by their father, in order to appease the gods and to procure deliverance from an impending famine.

4. "And there are yet many other things, belonging to the present and not buried in oblivion by time,—and the other Greeks entertain wrong notions about them: as, for instance, that the Lacedæmonian kings vote not with one pebble each but with two [i. e. have a double vote], and that they have a Pitanensian Lochus, whereas no such thing ever existed. So indifferent to the multitude is the pursuit of truth, and they rather have recourse to ready-made theories." *ὥσπερ... πῶποτε*. Herodotus is generally understood to say (VI. lvii.) that the Lacedæmonian kings have two votes each. Bishop Thirlwall seeks to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between the statements of the two historians by supposing that the two kings had each one vote, and that the casting vote belonged in addition to the king of the elder house. In IX. liii., again, Herodotus makes distinct mention of one Amompharetus as commandant *τοῦ Πιτανήτης λόχου*, and lower down in the same chapter, of the *λόχος ὁ Πιτανητέων* itself. Schweighäuser suggests that there may have been a Pitanensian Lochus commanded by Amompharetus at the battle of Plataea, but that it had ceased to exist at the time of Thucydides;—a theory which impugns the accuracy of our historian only in as far as he denies that it *ever* existed. The emphatic and unambiguous nature of the terms employed in the text, especially in the case of so diligent and cautious a writer as Thucydides, would seem, however, to indicate perfect confidence on his part as to the strict and literal correctness of his assertions. It is, therefore, perhaps a more feasible hypothesis that the notion of a twofold vote of the Spartan kings and of the existence of a Pitanensian Lochus, though originating in error, was notwithstanding generally current in Greece when Herodotus composed his history; and that he adopted the common belief as a matter of course, without its having ever occurred to him to investigate the foundations upon which it rested. Hence many

commentators have concluded that the latter part of this chapter is designed mainly as a censure upon Herodotus. But, notwithstanding the story, told by Suidas of Thucydides having been present at the recital of his great predecessor's composition at the Olympic games, it is by no means improbable that he was totally unacquainted with that production. The censure was, more probably, specially directed against the *λογογράφοι* who preceded Herodotus, and particularly against Hellanicus of Mitylene.

xxi. 1. "BUT no one would err in drawing the conclusion from the evidences which have been quoted, that the things I have described were mainly such [as I have represented], and in not rather believing them to have been either as the poets [e. g. Homer], embellishing them to an exaggerated extent, have sung of them, nor as the historians have drawn them up (rather for the sake of pleasing the ear than with regard for truth),—[whose stories] are unsusceptible of demonstration and, most of them, through lapse of time, have [so far] exceeded the bounds of belief [as to pass] into the fabulous [= so boldly and outrageously false as to have secured for themselves in course of time a transference from the region of credibility to that of fiction].—but in having considered that, considering their antiquity, they have been sufficiently ascertained from the clearest evidences." The participles in agreement with *τις*, the nominative to *ἀμαρτάνοι*, are *νομίζων*, *πιστεύων*, and *ἡγησάμενος*. Having in the preceding chapter illustrated the danger of giving credence to unsifted evidence, Thucydides here assures the reader of the reliability of his testimony.—*λογογράφοι*. Thus were commonly designated the historical writers before Herodotus. Of these the most important are Hecataeus of Miletus, Charon of Lampsacus, Xanthus the Lydian, Pherecydes of Lerus or of Athens, and Hellanicus of Mitylene.

2. "And this war,—although men whilst they are engaged in a war always think the present to be the greatest, and when they have left off, wonder rather at those of old,—will nevertheless, to those who judge from facts themselves, approve itself as more considerable than them [*αὐτῶν* = *τῶν ἀρχαίων*]."

xxii. 1. "And as to the *speeches* either side delivered,—either when they contemplated going to war or were already engaged in it,—'twere difficult to retain the exact form of what was said ;—[it were difficult] for me [to retain the precise form] of what I heard myself, and it were difficult for those who reported to me [to preserve the exact form of what they heard] elsewhere whence [they communicated it to me] : but in whatever manner it seemed to me that each one would most naturally have spoken on each successive occasion, in that manner a speech has been assigned him here, whilst I have adhered as closely as possible to the general tenour of what was said in reality."

2. "*But as to the facts of what was done* in the course of the war, I have not felt warranted in writing *them* on hearsay from any chance informant, nor yet upon my own conjecture ; but [I have related events] at which I was myself present, and [in what I have learned] from others I have as far as possible accurately examined into each particular. And with difficulty was the investigation conducted, because those who were present at the several affairs did not give the same accounts of the same things, but any [narrator spoke] just as he possessed partiality for either side or recollection of the circumstances." *ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος* is much the same

as ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτοῖτος. Compare Sophocles, *Œdipus Tyrannus*, v. 383. ἐκατέρων. εὐνοιά τινος = εὐνοία πρὸς τινα. Cf. VII. lvii.. Ἀθηναίων εὐνοία, from goodwill towards the Athenians. In such cases the genitive is said to be an objective genitive. See note on *Cæsar*, B. G. p. 181.

3. "To the ear, indeed, perchance the unfabulous character of my history [αὐτῶν = τῶν ἔργων ἃ ἔγραψα] may sound less delightful: but it will suffice me [ἀρκούντως ἔξει] if those esteem it [αὐτά] useful whose wish it is [ὅσοι βουλήσονται] to arrive at a knowledge of the exact nature of those things which have happened before and of things—according to the course of human events, of the same or a similar character—which will happen again hereafter: it is composed rather for an everlasting possession than as a prize essay for present recital." My book, says Thucydides, is intended to be a work of lasting *value*, a work to be read by successive generations hereafter and referred to as an authoritative record of events, and not merely to charm the ear and fascinate the attention for a time,—to be once read and then cast aside. Compare Macaulay's observations on Herodotus and Thucydides, in his *Essay on History*.

xiii. 1. 2. "Now of *former* events the greatest that occurred was the Median war, and yet the decision which it had was the speedy one of two sea-fights and two land-battles; but of *this* war (1) the duration was greatly protracted, and (2) in it such sufferings befel Greece as had no parallel, [οἶα οὐχ ἔτερα] in an equivalent length of time. For neither were [i. e. previously at any time] there (1) so many cities taken and laid desolate—some by barbarians, some by themselves being at war with one another—(some, when they were taken, even changed their inhabitants [i. e. had their inhabitants expatriated to make way for fresh settlers]),—nor were there (2) such banishment and carnage, partly in the war itself, partly through sedition."—δυσὸν ναυμαχίαι κ. τ. λ. Whether besides the battles of Salamis on sea and Plataea on land, the double fight at Mycale be meant, as Krüger takes it, or whether the battles of Thermopylae on land and Artemisium on sea are referred to, as all other commentators agree with the scholiast in thinking, it is difficult accurately to determine, inasmuch as the expression τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχε, taken in its strict acceptance, is applicable to Salamis and Plataea only.

3. "And stories previously told upon hearsay, but scantily confirmed by experience, showed themselves entitled to credit;—concerning earthquakes, to wit, which at once prevailed over a great extent of territory, and were too of the most violent character; and eclipses of the sun, which happened with a frequency beyond the records of former times; and with some there were great droughts and, as a consequence of these, famines and, what committed most ravages and destroyed a considerable part of the population, the noisome pestilence:—for all these visitations befel them at once simultaneously with this war." ἅμα...καί and ἅμα...τε καί are of frequent occurrence in the sense of "at once...and."

4, 5. "Now the Athenians and the Peloponnesians began it, having broken the thirty years' truce which was made between them after the taking of Eubœa. And first [in the following history] I have premised the reasons why they broke it, and differences between them, in order that no one may ever enquire [i. e. may ever find it necessary to enquire] whence it was that so great a war arose among the Greeks. For I think the truest motive assigned, though the least openly avowed, was, that the circum-

stance of the Athenians becoming powerful and causing apprehension to the Lacedæmonians rendered it expedient for them to go to war. But the following were the reasons publicly alleged by the respective powers, for their having violated their terms of peace and embarked in the war."—*τοῦ ζητῆσαι* may be said to be governed by *ἐνεκα* understood; more correctly speaking it is the genitive of cause. *τινα* is the accusative before—in other words, the subject of—the infinitive *ζητῆσαι*. The 3 sing. aor. 1, optative active of this verb would be *ζητήσαι*, and the aor. 1, imperative middle would be *ζήτησαι*. (Greek Delectus, pp. 66, 67.)

xxiv. 1. *οἰκιστής*, "the leader of the colony."—*Φαλῖος* κ. τ. λ., "Phalius a son of Eratocleides, a Corinthian by birth, one of the descendants of Hercules, who, according indeed to ancient usage, had been invited from the mother country."—*Ἰόνιον κόλπον*. Thus Herodotus and Thucydides designate the Adriatic Sea, for which they did not yet know the name *δ' Ἀδρίας*, which appellation Herodotus gives to the coast. The Ionian Gulf, however, which extends only to the Ceraunian mountains, must be distinguished from what is generally known as the Ionian Sea.—*ἀπέκτισαν*. According to Eusebius, B. C. 627. *κατὰ νόμον*. Corinth was the mother-city of Corcyra; and it was customary for a colony, when it sent out a colony from itself, to confer the leadership of it upon some citizen of the original mother state, of the *grand-mother state*, so to speak.

xxv. 1. "Now when the Epidamnians saw that there was no help for them from Corcyra, they found themselves in difficulty as to how to manage in the present juncture; so they sent to Delphi and enquired of the god, whether they should deliver up their city to the Corinthians as its founders, and should seek to obtain from them some succour for themselves: and he answered that they *should* deliver up [the city] to them and constitute them their leaders."

2. "So the Epidamnians went to Corinth and, in conformity with the oracular injunction, delivered up the colony, pointing out that the leader of their colony was of Corinth, and declaring the response they had received; and they begged them [the Corinthians] not to disregard them in their perishing state, but to succour them." *παρέδοσαν*. B. C. 436.

3, 4. "And the Corinthians undertook the task of assisting them, partly on the ground of justice, (considering that the colony was more theirs than the Corcyræans'), partly at the same time out of hatred to the Corcyræans, because, though their colonists, they had slighted them:—(for [they *had* slighted them] in neither conceding to them the customary honours in the general public solemnities, nor committing the opening of the sacred rites to a Corinthian man, like other colonies; but on the contrary in looking down upon them, inasmuch as they [the Corcyræans] were at that time from the abundance of their wealth on an equality with the richest of the Greeks, and inasmuch as they were superior in preparation for war; and sometimes [*ἔστιν ὅτε*] also because they plumed themselves upon being far in advance in naval power and upon the prior habitation of Corcyra by the Phæacians who enjoyed a reputation for their maritime prowess: wherefore they also the more diligently fitted up their ships, and were by no means weak, for they had a hundred and twenty triremes when they went to war)."—*ὅτε γὰρ ἐν παηγύρεσι* κ. τ. λ. The charge of contemptuous demeanour on the part of the Corcyræans towards the Corinthians consists of two separate counts: (1) that, at the public festivals, the Cor-

Corcyraeans had not accorded to the Corinthians at the public festivals the honours usually rendered by a colony to the parent state; (2) that they had further evinced their disregard of the obligations imposed upon them by their relationship, by not conferring upon a Corinthian the customary distinction at the commencement of their sacrificial solemnities. The festivals alluded to in the first part of the charge were probably those celebrated in the *mother-city*, to which it was the duty of the several colonies to send ambassadors, offerings and choice victims for sacrifice; these constituting the *νομιζόμενα γέρα* which the Corcyraeans had neglected to furnish. The neglecting *Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκατέρχεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν* took place at the festivals celebrated in the *colony*: in these the mother-state used to be represented by an ambassador, and to him was generally ceded the honour of opening the ceremonies by sprinkling the consecrated barley upon the head of the victim and by performing the libation. *δυνατώτεροι*, sc. *τῶν Κορινθίων*.

xxvi. 1. "Having then complaints of all these things [=all these items of complaint], the Corinthians were delighted to send to Epidamnus *the aid* [=the required aid]; both directing any who wished it to go as a settler, and ordering thither a garrison of Ambraciots and Leucadians and their own troops: and these marched *by land* to Apollonia (which was a colony of the Corinthians), for fear of the Corcyraeans, lest they should be opposed by them in crossing over *by sea*."—*πεζῇ*. They went by land to *Apollonia*, which implies that they went the rest of the way by sea: this was, Bloomfield observes, to avoid the danger of passing through the territory of the Taulantii.

2. "And when the Corcyraeans learned about the arrival of the settlers and the garrison, and about the self-surrender of the colony to the Corinthians, they were chagrined. And straightway putting to sea with twenty-five ships, followed also by another armament, they insultingly commanded them (1) to admit the exiles (for the Epidamnian refugees had gone to Corcyra and,—pointing both to the tombs of their ancestors and [=in memorial of, in proof of] their consanguinity,—had, putting forward this plea, entreated them to reinstate them), and (2) to dismiss the settlers and guards whom the Corinthians had sent."—*κατάγειν* is "to restore" an exile; *κατέρχεσθαι* is "to return" from exile, "to be restored."

3. "But when the Epidamnians gave them no heed, the Corcyraeans came down upon them with forty ships, in company with the exiles (for the purpose of re-instating them), having also added a re-inforcement of Illyrians: and, blockading the city, they proclaimed 'that any of the Epidamnians who wished and the strangers might withdraw unmolested, but if they did not go that they would treat them as enemies.' And in consequence of their non-compliance, the Corcyraeans invested (for the place is a peninsula) the city." *ἔστι δέ* = *est autem*.

xxvii. 1, 2. "Now the Corinthians, when messengers from Epidamnus came to them announcing the siege, set about preparing a force, and at the same time they proclaimed a colony to Epidamnus, on equal and uniform terms for any who were willing to go, and that if any one did not wish to sail with the others at once but was still anxious to have a share in the colony [so that, whenever he pleased, he might go out and settle there on the same footing as his countrymen who had gone before him], by paying down fifty Corinthian drachmas he might wait. And

both those who sailed and those who deposited the money were numerous. And they solicited the Megareans to convoy them with ships [= to furnish them with a convoy of ships] in case they should be opposed by the Coreyræans on their voyage; and they made arrangements to sail with them with eight ships, and the people of Pale, a city of the Cephallenians, with four: and they besought the Epidamnians, who furnished five, and the people of Hermione one, &c."—*δραχμὰς Κορινθίας*. These were, at least originally, of the same value as the Æginetan drachmæ, each of which (= 1*s.* 4½*d.*) amounts to ten Attic oboli. The Attic drachma (= 9½*d.*) contained six oboli.—*ἐδεήθησαν κ. τ. λ.* The states mentioned here were, some of them members of the Peloponnesian league, and some of them—as Leucas, Ambracia, and perhaps Pale,—colonies of Corinth.

xxviii. 1, 2. "Now when the Coreyræans heard of this preparation, they went to Corinth with some Lacedæmonian and Sicyonian ambassadors whom they took with them, and required the Athenians to withdraw the soldiers and settlers in Epidamnus, since they had no concern with Epidamnus. But if they [the Corinthians] made any claim to it, they were willing to have the cause tried by such states in the Peloponnesus as they should both agree upon; and to whichever party it should be decided that the colony belonged, that they should have possession of it: and they were also willing to refer the matter to the oracle at Delphi. War they dissuaded them from making; but, were it otherwise [should their dissuasives from war prove ineffectual], they said that they also should be necessitated,—forced to such a step by them [the Corinthians],—to attach to themselves as friends for the sake of their assistance those whom they did not wish, and far different from those whom they had now." *φίλους ποιεῖσθαι κ. τ. λ.* This was a hint at an Athenian alliance, and a secession from their Peloponnesian kindred.

3. "Now the Corinthians made answer, that if *they* [the Coreyræans] would recal their ships and barbarians, they [the Corinthians] would confer about it; but that, before this was done, it would not be fair for those [the Epidamnians] to be enduring a siege, whilst they were appealing to arbitration. And the Coreyræans replied that if they would recal their forces in Epidamnus, they would do this; but that they were also agreeable for both parties to remain in their present position, but to make a truce until the cause should be decided."

xxix. 2, *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένοντο κ. τ. λ.*, "And when they had arrived off Actium (in the Anactorian territory), where the temple of Apollo is, at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, the Coreyræans sent off to them in a skiff a herald, who warned them not to sail towards them; and at the same time they set about manning their ships, having fastened the old ones so as to be sea-worthy, and having rigged the others." *ζεύξαντες*. By repairing and strengthening, or, where necessary, renewing the beams (*ζυγώματα*) which extended from one side of the vessel to the other. [*Τὸ ζεύξαντες τὰς παλαιὰς ναὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ ζυγώματα κρατύναντες κεῖται· ζυγώματα δὲ καλοῦνται τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ (ένδς) τοίχου τῆς νεὼς πρὸς τὸν ἑτερον διατείνοντα τοίχον.* Greg. Cor. Schol. on Hermog. 889.]

3. *ἐνανμάχησαν*. This was in the spring of the year B. C. 434, Olymp. 86, 2. The words *τὸν πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου* in (3) of the following chapter, embrace, therefore, a period of about five or six months.—*τῇ δὲ*

αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, "and on the same day it was their good fortune that those blockading Epidamnus reduced it to submission on the condition that they should sell the strangers, and that they should bind the Corinthians and keep them until something else should be determined on."

xxx. 1. τροπαῖον. This was constantly done by the Grecians on a victory. Nay, when the victory was claimed on both sides, both sides erected trophies, of which several instances occur in Thucydides. The trophies for a victory at land were decked out with the arms they had taken: those for a victory at sea, with arms also, and the shatters of the enemy's ships. (Dean Smith.) To demolish a trophy was looked on as unlawful, and a kind of sacrilege, because they were all consecrated to some deity; nor was it less a crime to pay divine adoration before them, or to repair them when decayed, as may be likewise observed of the Roman triumphal arches; this being the means to revive the memory of forgotten quarrels, and engage posterity to revenge the disgrace of their ancestors. For the same reason, those Grecians who first introduced the custom of erecting pillars for trophies, incurred a severe censure from the ages they lived in. (Potter.) The word is connected with τρέπειν, τρόπη, from its being erected where an enemy *turned* and fled. After a naval battle, the victors raised a trophy on the nearest convenient land.

2. "And afterwards, when the Corinthians and their allies having been worsted by the ships had retreated homewards, the Corcyraeans became masters of all the sea about those places; and sailing to Leucas, the Athenian colony, they laid waste the country; and they burned Cyllene, a naval rendezvous of the Eleans, because the latter had furnished ships and money to the Corinthians." ἐπ' οἶκον, "homewards," in the direction of home; ἐπ' οἶκον, "home," as far as home.

3. "And for the greatest part of the time after the naval battle they retained the sovereignty of the sea and by maritime attacks continued to harass the allies of the Athenians, until, towards the end of summer the Athenians, having despatched a fleet and army,—for their allies began to be weary [of a war which entailed so much damage upon them],—stationed themselves at Actium and round about the Chimerium of Thesprotia, for the purpose of covering Leucas and such other states as were friendly to them."

4. "And the Corcyraeans also took up a station opposite to them at Leucimne, with a fleet and a land force. And neither party weighed to attack the other, but remaining all this summer drawn up in opposition, when it was now winter they returned to their respective homes."

xxxi. 3. "Now the Corinthians upon ascertaining this came themselves also to Athens in the persons of their ambassadors to bring it about by diplomacy, that their [fleet] might not, by being added to the Corcyraean fleet, become an obstacle to their settling the war as they wished. And an assembly [of the Athenian people] having been constituted, the Corcyraeans spoke to the following effect." ἐκκλησίας, the general assembly of the people. In this the sovereignty was vested: and it is proper that the reader should be acquainted with this particular form in the Athenian democracy. The people of Athens were divided into twelve tribes, which presided by rotation. The year was divided into ten courses, and each tribe presided about five weeks. The tribe in course elected fifty persons to manage by authority, and in their name: these were called prytanes,

πρυτάνεις. This being too large a number for business, they were subdivided into tens, each of these subdivisions presiding for a week; and these were called proedri, πρόεδροι. One of the proedri presided, or was in the chair, for a day, and was styled epistates, ἐπιστάτης. For that day, —and he never enjoyed this pre-eminence a second time in his life,—he was invested with the highest trust in the government. He kept the public seal, and the keys of the citadel and treasury: in the assembly of the people he ordered all the proclamations, regulated proceedings, put the question, and declared the majority. The assemblies of the people were of two kinds, ordinary (νόμιμοι, κύρια) and extraordinary (σύγκλητοι). Of the first kind, four were regularly held during each presidency of the tribes, and at the third of them ambassadors from foreign states had public audience. The latter were occasionally convened by the presidents in course or by the generals of the state. Some days beforehand notice was publicly given by the senate or council of five hundred on what subjects they were to deliberate: but this could not be observed on sudden emergencies. They met early in the morning, anciently in the ἀγορά, but, in the time of Thucydides, in the πύξ, at the summons of the public crier. At the second summons they were obliged to attend at their peril: for then the proper officers ran along the forum with a rope stretched across, rubbed over with vermilion, and all on whom a mark was found were fined; but those who attended early and regularly were entitled to half a drachma each for attendance. The number who attended generally amounted to five or six thousand. The assembly opened with the sacrifice of a young pig to Ceres, and the blood was sprinkled round by way of pacification. Then a prayer was pronounced aloud by the crier for the prosperity of the commonwealth of Athens; which ended, a curse was next pronounced on every citizen who did anything to the prejudice of his country. Then the proedri of the week opened the points on which they were convened, and the assembly proceeded to business.

xxxii. 1. " 'Tis reasonable, Athenians, that those, who—when there is no great kindness [εὐεργεσία = beneficium] or support in war previously to their credit—come to neighbouring [states] (as we do now) for the purpose of begging assistance, should first convince them, best of all that what they require is advantageous [to those applied to if they grant it], but if not, at least that it is not pernicious; and in the second place, that they will retain an abiding sense of gratitude; and, if they shall not clearly establish these points, not to be angry if they are unsuccessful [in their suit]." The speech of which these words may be regarded as the exordium terminates at the end of chapter xxxvi. The speaker has imposed upon himself the task of proving (1) that an alliance with the Coreyræans would be for the advantage of the Athenians or at all events not hurtful to them; and (2) that, being in accordance with every principle of justice and honour and being, moreover, of vital importance to the petitioners, it would secure on the side of the latter their lasting gratitude and admiration.

2, 3. "Now the Coreyræans have sent us hither, believing that, simultaneously with our solicitation of your alliance, we shall furnish you with a certainty of these things. But it happens that the same custom is (1) in your eyes unfavourable to us in the matter of our petition, and (2) disadvantageous for our own interests at the present juncture: for, [here

follows a statement of what the custom referred to had been] never heretofore having ourselves voluntarily become the allies of any state, (1) we are now come for the purpose of begging this [*i. e.* alliance, *ξυμμαχία*] from others, and (2) at the same time through it [*αὐτό = τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα*] we stand friendless for the present war with the Corinthians; and our *seeming* former prudence,—not to incur community of risk in an external alliance at the discretion of a neighbour,—has displayed itself in its opposite colours of imprudence and weakness.”

4. “Now ’tis very true that in the sea-fight which has taken place we have ourselves single handed repulsed the Corinthians; but since they have burst forth against us with a greater force [collected] from Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece, and we see that we are incapable of overcoming them [*ἀδύνατοι περιγενέσθαι*] merely with our own domestic forces,—and at the same time great is the danger [to others] if we become subject to them,—it is necessary for us to pray for aid both from you and from every other nation; and there is an excuse for us if it be not with malicious intent but from an error of judgment that what we now venture to ask is inconsistent with the quiescent principle [‘the principle of non-intervention’] by which we have ourselves hitherto been guided.” The Corcyraeans acknowledge that their appeal to a foreign power for assistance against their enemies, comes with a bad grace from a people whose policy it has ever been to stand aloof themselves from the dangers and responsibilities of alliance with foreign belligerent states: but they urge as an excuse for so selfish a line of conduct, their freedom from any motives of cowardice or animosity, and their conviction that thus and thus alone—by the continued observation of a strict neutrality—they could calculate upon exemption from encroachment and aggression from without. In *μέγας δὲ κίνδυνος* there is a designed generality and unrestrictedness of meaning. The general danger may be understood, but especially the danger to those states which had reason to fear the inordinate extension of Corinthian influence, and, most of all, to the Athenians themselves.

xxxiii. 1, 2. “But if you yield to our solicitations, the incident of our necessity will prove in many respects a source of honour for you: firstly, because you will render your assistance to men who are the victims of unfair treatment, not the inflictors of injury upon others; and secondly, by receiving into your alliance those who are in jeopardy as regards their most vital interests, you will lay upon us an obligation [which shall be remembered] with everlasting acknowledgment; and [finally], we have a fleet inferior only to your own. And reflect, what piece of good fortune is rarer, or what more mortifying to the enemy, than if that very power [*αὐτή* *sc. δύναμις*] whose accession to your side you would have valued more highly than much money and favour [*i. e.* to purchase whose alliance you would not have grudged expending much money and showing much favour—conferring many obligations], presents itself spontaneously, tendering itself without danger or expense to you, and furthermore shedding abroad the glory of your virtue among the many,—inspiring gratitude [in the hearts of] those whom you defend, and conferring power upon yourselves. And these are advantages such as, all at once, have presented themselves to but few in all time; yea there are few who present themselves in the character of suitors for assistance in war, who *confer* more

stability and honour upon those to whom they appeal, than they expect to *receive* from them."

3. "But if any one of you imagines that such a war as we should be serviceable to you in will never occur, he is mistaken in his judgment and does not perceive [is blind to the fact] that the Lacedæmonians from apprehension of you [= who view your increasing power with apprehensive jealousy] are bent upon war, and that the Corinthians,—influential with them and inimical to you—pounce now upon us first with a view to [ἐς] grasping you [afterwards], so that we may not with a common hatred make a united stand against them, and that they may not fail to be beforehand with the accomplishment of one of two objects, either the crippling of us or the strengthening of themselves. But our business it is on the other hand, to anticipate them, we offering, and you accepting our alliance, and rather to foreplot than to counterplot their designs." *πολεμῆσαι* is a desiderative verb.

xxxiv. 1, 2. "But if they say that it is unfair for you to receive their colonists [into your protection], let them learn that every colony, when it is well treated, reveres the parent-state, but, when *mal-treated*, becomes estranged: for they are not sent out to be slaves, but to be the equals of those left at home. And that they *did mal-treat us* is clear: for when in the matter of Epidamnus they were invited by us to an arbitration, they preferred to prosecute their claims rather by war than by justice. And let their conduct [ἀδρῶσιν] towards us their kinsmen be a hint to you, so that you may not be deceitfully seduced by them and straightway grant them your help when they ask for it. For he who experiences fewest regrets for the bestowal of favours upon his enemies is the man to continue in the enjoyment of the greatest security." The safest plan for a man or a state to follow, is, according to the Coreyræans, to beware of strengthening by one's aid or by one's countenance, those who are likely afterwards to prove hostile, and to bite the hand that has brought them support. In the caution *δεομένοις* . . . *ὑποῦργειν* there appears to be a reference to the coming speech of the Corinthian ambassadors.

xxxv. 1. "Nor will you violate your treaty with the Lacedæmonians by receiving us who are confederates of neither party: for it is provided therein that any Grecian state not in league with either party [at the time of ratifying the treaty], may go over to either, if it pleases."

2. "And 'tis monstrous if *these* [the Corinthians] are to be allowed to man *their* ships from the confederate states, and moreover from the rest of Greece, and particularly from your dependencies,—whilst they are to debar *us* from the proposed alliance and from the succour derivable from any other source,—and then, are to take it as a wrong if you accede to our petitions." *ἐργεῖν* = *excludere*; *ἐργεῖν* = *includere*.

3. "But *we* shall hold you in much *greater* blame if you do *not* accede: for (1) we, whom you will [in that case] cast off, are beset with danger and are not your enemies, and (2) not only will you fail to offer a check [οὐ καλυτά γένησθε] to those who are your enemies and intending aggressors, but you will also look with unconcern upon their appropriation to themselves from your own realm of a force which it is unjust [for you to suffer the appropriation of]: on the contrary [you ought] either to withhold from them their hired troops of your government, or else to send to us also some succour in whatever form you may determine

apon, the best of all being, openly to admit us into alliance with you and hasten to our help."

4. "We show, moreover, that, as we intimated at the outset, the advantages [of such a course as we urge upon you] are numerous; the most important item being that we have common enemies—and this very circumstance is a most unequivocal guarantee [of mutual good faith, &c.]—and they too not feeble ones, but quite competent to damage [us] who have seceded from them. And inasmuch as the alliance offered you is maritime and not continental, the rejection of it is a very different thing [from what it would be if offered by a power destitute of naval forces]; for on the contrary it is for you not to suffer any other power to possess a fleet (if you can help it), or (failing this), to have the strongest as your friend." ἦσαν. The imperfect is employed because the speaker is recalling the attention of his auditors to a fact insisted upon in a previous portion of his speech: "we are, as has been already shown, the objects of one common hostility." Plato often uses the imperfect in a similar manner, when one participator in a discussion reminds his antagonist of a truth previously conceded or established.—τοὺς μεταστάντας, the Corcyraeans themselves: for they, being received into the Athenian league, were throughout looked upon by the Peloponnesians as renegades and transgressors.

xxxvi. 1, 2. "And if any one to whom our propositions appear acceptable, fears nevertheless that by acquiescing in them he may violate the treaty, let him know that the source [or object] of his apprehension [viz. a junction with us] being accompanied by strength [viz. the strength to be derived from such a junction] will rather strike terror into the enemy; his boldness [= self-assurance] on the contrary,—if he have received us not,—being unaccompanied by the strength [ἀσθενές] [which is derivable from our alliance], will be less terrible to enemies who are themselves formidable: and [let him know] at the same time that the issue of the present deliberations affects Athens no less than Corcyra; and that he does not most effectually consult the interest of that state [αὐταῖς = Ἀθηναῖς], if, regardful only of the present [τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν], he hesitates to secure the support, for the approaching and all but present conflict, of a country whose alliance and whose enmity are both attended with the most momentous consequences." γνῶτω κ. τ. λ. The rendering proposed above differs essentially from all others that I have seen. Dr. Arnold translates thus: "Let him know that his fear of breaking the treaty by receiving us, will, if actually he be strengthened with our aid, be more formidable to his enemies than any confidence which he might feel in his observance of the treaty, if at the same time he be left through his scrupulousness weak while his adversaries are strong."

3, 4. "For it is favourably situated as regards the passage to Italy and Sicily, so as to be able to prevent a fleet from passing thence to the Peloponnesians, and at the same time to be able to send one hence to those coasts; and in other respects it is most advantageous. In a very brief summary [= to sum up briefly], therefore, for one and for all, you would learn from this not to abandon us: there are among the Greeks but three maritime powers worth mentioning, ours, yours, and the Corinthian; and if you suffer two of these to become consolidated into one [literally, 'to come into the same'] and the Corinthians pounce upon us first, you will

have to fight by sea against the Corcyraeans and the Peloponnesians together. But if you admit us you will be able to contend against *them* [the Peloponnesians alone] with your fleet reinforced as it will be by our own." *τρία μὲν ὄντα*. Poppo places these words under the government of *μάθετε*, unexpressed, but implied in the preceding *ἂν μάθοιτε*. Goeller understands *ἵστε* in the same way. Another explanation is as follows: the simple and regular form would be *τρίων μὲν ὄντων...τούτων εἰ περιόψεσθε κ.τ.λ.*, or else, *τρία μὲν ἔστι...τούτων δ' εἰ περιόψεσθε κ.τ.λ.*, and the form in the text has arisen from a blending of these two constructions, *confusio duarum structurarum*. At all events, the drift of the argument employed by the Corcyraeans is plain: it is against your interest, Athenians, to allow the Corinthians to strengthen their navy by adding to it our own; rather let us unite against them: they will have no other resource to flee to, for we are the only three maritime powers in existence.

xxxvii. 1. "It is necessary,—since the speech which these Corcyraeans have made is not alone about your admitting them to an alliance, but also to the effect that we do them injustice and that they are warred against without reason,—that we too should first advert to both these points, and then proceed to the other part of the subject; in order that you may be the more certainly acquainted beforehand with the nature of the claim proceeding from us, and may not reject their suit without a reason."

2. "Now they *say* that it was from motives of prudence that they never yet accepted the alliance in war of any state; but it was for the purposes of villany, not virtue, that they adopted this course, since they did not desire to have any accessory to and witness of the perpetration of their wrongs, or to incur the shame of requesting cooperation. And at the same time the situation of their state, lying as it does in an independent [*αὐτάρκης*, literally, 'self-sufficient'] position, constitutes *them* the arbitrators of the injuries they inflict upon others rather than that [judges] should be appointed by mutual agreement, on account of their seldom making voyages to neighbouring places, but chiefly receiving others who touch there of necessity." *παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι*. Alliance with other powers would have necessitated a certain amount of community of action, and this would have involved identity of purpose and design. Now the Corcyraeans, by avoiding all foreign alliance, avoided also the shame of communicating their nefarious plans to others.—*παρέχει κ.τ.λ.* With Poppo, Goeller (2nd Edition), and Arnold, I have in the rendering of this passage repeated *δικαστάς* before *κατά*. Goeller in his first edition regarded *κατά ξυνθήκας γίγνεσθαι* as equivalent to "to enter into a convention."

3. "And they have held out before them [*προβέβληνται* is *middle*, not passive] this plausible no-alliance policy, for this purpose,—not lest their association with others should involve them in deeds of injustice,—but that they may practise their deeds of injustice alone, and that where they have the mastery they may exercise it with violence, and that where they are unperceived they may possess themselves of more; and whatever they appropriate they may unblushingly retain. Although if, as they say, they were conscientious men, then the less amenable they were to their neighbours, so much the more conspicuously might they have exhibited their virtue by giving and receiving what is just." The object of the Corcyraeans in their repudiation of alliances is declared by the Corinthians to

have been, that they might secure to themselves a monopoly of practice in their acts of oppression, injustice, and rapine; that they might have none to remonstrate with them against the commission of violence, none to share its fruits with them, none to reproach them with its consequences.

xxxviii. 1, 2. "But neither towards the others nor towards us are they so disposed; but being colonists from us, they have all along stood aloof from us and now levy war against us, asserting that they were not sent out to be mal-treated. But we say, no more did we plant the colony to be insulted by them, but to be their guides and to be duly respected by them. At all events our other colonies treat us with consideration and we are particularly beloved by the settlers: and it is plain that, being acceptable to the majority [=all the others], we could not upon any just ground be unpalatable to these alone: nor do we now wage war upon them without reasonable grounds, not being seriously injured by them [i.e. nor is it without abundant justification, as it would be if we had not sustained grievous injury at their hands, that we adopt hostile measures against them]."

3. "But the honourable course for them, even if we were at fault, was to give way to our anger [to humour us in our displeasure], whilst it would have been disgraceful in us to have abused their moderation: whereas, on the contrary, they through their arrogance and abundance of wealth have both committed many other offences against us and, in particular, though they had made no claim to Epidamnus (which belongs to us) so long as it was in a suffering state, yet when we came to its relief they took it by violence and keep it." ὕβρις. The word is here used in its primitive sense of "insolence, uppishness." Compare the editor's note on Lucian I. 12, p. 94.

xxxix. 1. "And they say forsooth that they formerly were willing to submit to arbitration; but it must be allowed that it is not for him to speak of this who has the advantage and in consequence of his security proposes the challenge, but only for him who *before* engaging in the struggle, places on a fair level [with the other contending party] his deeds and his words alike [the *facts*, or actual circumstances of the case as well as his words]." Your proposal of referring the matter to arbitration may, on the first blush of it, strike a third party as fair and reasonable: but upon consideration it will be acknowledged that the time to make such an appeal was before you had taken the law into your own hands and forcibly possessed yourself of Epidamnus. The two appellants ought to be on an equality relatively to the object of dispute; in other words, you ought to give up Epidamnus before claiming the credit of a willingness to refer the matter to a judicial tribunal.

2. "But it was not before they had laid siege to the place, but only when they thought that we would not stand by quietly,—then it was that they made their specious proposal of arbitration: and now they are come hither, not merely having themselves committed wrong there, but moreover now requesting you also to be, not their allies in war, but their accomplices in crime, and to receive them on the ground of their being at variance with us. But the time when they ought to have come to you was when they enjoyed perfect security, and not (1) when we have been outraged and they are in danger, nor (2) when you, without having *derived* any benefit from *their former power*, will have to *confer* upon them the benefit

of *your present assistance*, and, though you have been strangers to their crimes, will have to encounter an equal share of blame from us: but they ought long ago to have extended to others the advantages of their power, so as now to share its consequences in common with them."

xl. 1, 2. "It has been established, therefore, (1) that *we* ourselves come to you with relevant charges, whereas (2) *they* are violent and rapacious; and you must know that it would be unjust to admit them. For even if it *has* been provided in the treaty that it should be allowable for any of the un-inrolled cities to go over to whichever party it liked, yet the agreement is not for those who go with a view [*ἐπί*] to the injury of others, but for such a one [= such a state] as, not withdrawing himself from another, stands in need of safety and will not cause war instead of peace to those who receive him, if they are prudent." ἀγραφοί = ἄσπονδοί, ἔκσπονδοί.

3. "But this exchange [*πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης*] you would now experience by not yielding to our representations: for you would not merely become auxiliaries to them but hostile to instead of in league with ourselves. For if you go with them we shall be necessitated to encounter them not without you [i. e. them and you together]. We grant that it would be right by all means for you (1) to stand aloof from both parties; or, otherwise, to join with us on the contrary in opposition to them,—with the Corinthians, on the one hand, ye are associated by treaty, whilst with the Corcyraeans ye have never been on terms of truce,—and (2) not to establish a precedent for receiving in alliance renegades from others. For we did not, when the Samians revolted, give a vote opposed to you, when the other Peloponnesian states were divided in their votes as to whether they were to be supported; but we unequivocally maintained on the contrary that any state ought itself to chastise the allies who had sought its protection. For if you receive and succour those who behave amiss, there will be seen also what states of yours—and those not inferior—shall secede to us, and the precedent you will establish will act against yourselves rather than against us." Σαπλῶν. Cf. I. cxv.

xli. 1, 2, 3. "These then are the *rightful claims* [= the *legal demands*] that we have upon you, sufficient according to the institutions of the Greeks; and we have besides, ground for exhorting you and requesting a *favour*, of such a character, as,—since we are not your enemies so as to injure you [and so absolve you from obligation], nor your friends so as to be very intimate with you [and consequently to be constantly employed in the interchange of good offices],—we think ought to be conceded to us by way of acknowledgment in the present crisis. For once [now comes a statement of the grounds which the Corinthians had for soliciting a *favour* from the Athenians], when you were deficient in long ships for the war with the Æginetans (before the Median invasion), you obtained twenty sail from the Corinthians: and this act of kindness, and that in the matter of the Samians (to wit, that it was all through us that the Peloponnesians did not assist them), secured to you the mastery over the Æginetæ and the chastisement of the Samians; and all this transpired in those critical times, when, above all, men, going against their enemies, are regardless of everything in comparison with conquering; for they regard him who subverts this object as their friend, though previously he may have been their enemy, and him who thwarts it they regard as their enemy, though he may perchance be really their friend; since they even manage their

own domestic concerns amiss for the sake of the present desire of conquest."—ἐπικράτης is a word peculiar to Thucydides.

xlii. 1. "Reflecting upon these things, and each of your young men having been informed of them by some senior, agree one and all to requite us with the like assistance, and do not imagine that what we have said is just indeed, but that a different course is desirable in the event of your engaging in the war at all." The regular construction ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες ἀξιούτε is superseded by the interpolation of the singular subject νεώτερός τις, which attracts the verb into the singular number; whereas in strictness two verbs would be required, one singular, the other plural.

2. "For advantage usually attends upon that course in which one acts with least injustice; and the prospect of the war with which the Corcyraeans seek to terrify you into the commission of a wrong, still lies in uncertainty, and it does not befit you, urged on by it, to procure for yourselves a certain present hostility, not a future one, with the Corinthians; it would be more prudent to diminish our pre-existing suspicion on account of the Megareans. For the last good turn, if seasonably rendered, notwithstanding that it may be of a slighter character, avails to counterbalance a graver cause of complaint [more literally, 'to wipe away a graver charge']. And do not be seduced by the circumstance that they offer an important naval alliance: for not to wrong our equals is a more enduring source of power, than, being excited by what presents itself on the moment, through dangers to seek aggrandisement." διὰ Μεγαρέας. Cf. I. ciii. cv.—τελευταία χάρις. This would consist in sending the Corcyraeans about their business.

xliii. 1, 2. "Now we having ourselves fallen into those circumstances with reference to which we openly declared at Lacedaemon that each power should have the chastisement of its allies in its own hands, claim now to receive the same acknowledgment from you, and not that you having experienced the advantage of our vote, should damage us by yours. Rather render us what is equivalent, recollecting that this is that very juncture in which, above all, he who helps us is our friend, and he who opposes us is our enemy. And as for these Corcyraeans here, do not receive them as your allies in spite of us, nor defend them in their wrong. And if you adopt the course we recommend, you will act becomingly and at the same time best consult your own interests."

xliv. 1. γενομένης . . . ἐκκλησίας, "the assembly having been constituted on two occasions." Here the reader should be informed in what manner business went on when difficulties, diversities of opinion, and consequently debates ensued. When it appeared that the question proposed would not be agreed to unanimously, the crier (ὁ κήρυξ), at the command of the president (ἐπιστάτης) in the chair, proclaimed aloud, 'What citizen above fifty years of age has a mind to speak?' When such had been heard, the crier made a second proclamation, that 'Any Athenian whatever had liberty to speak.' The debate being ended, the president bade the crier put the question. It was decided by holding up of hands (χειροτονία). The chairman distinguished the numbers in the affirmative and negative, and declared the majority. Then the resolution or decree (ψήφισμα) was drawn up in form: and the name of the archon who gave title to the year, the day of the month, and the name of the then presiding tribe, were prefixed.—The public decorum

of the Athenians is worthy of observation. The sentiments of age and experience were the first to be heard, and then the spirit and resolution of the younger were called in to assist at the public consultation. Nay, they carried it farther: no person convicted of profanity, cowardice, debauchery, or any public misdemeanour, was suffered to speak in this assembly. From such they expected no sound instruction, no disinterested advice. If any such offered to speak, the president of the assembly immediately enjoined upon them silence; and, if they were refractory, ordered his officers to turn them out.—οὐκ ἦσσαν. Οὐ is sometimes so closely connected with a word or phrase, that it not only negatives it, but even affirms the contrary. Thus we have οὐ φημι, not “I do not say,” but “I say no,” *nego*; οὐχ ὑπισχνούμαι, “I refuse”; οὐ θέλω, *nolo*; οὐχ ἤκιστα, *præsertim*; οὐκ ἄμεινον, “it is better, not”; οὐ πάνυ, *omnino non*; ἡ οὐ διάλυσις, “the prevention from breaking down”; ἡ οὐ περιτείχισις, “the stoppage of the blockade.” (Donaldson’s Greek Grammar, p. 215.) Compare Xenophon’s Anabasis I. iii. 1, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι, *negabant se ituros esse*, &c.—ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ κ. τ. λ., “but on the following day they changed their minds,—not indeed so far as to make an offensive alliance with the Coreyræans so [= of such an intimate character] as to consider the same persons as enemies or friends to both (for, [in that case], if the Coreyræans were to call upon them to join them in an expedition against Corinth, their treaty with the Peloponnesians would be violated—but they made a defensive alliance, for their mutual succour, if any one should make a descent upon Coreyra or Athens or upon their several allies.”

2. ἵνα ἀσθενεστέροις, literally, “in order that, if needs must be, they should engage in hostilities with the Athenians and the other fleet-possessing powers *weakened*”; that is, more freely, “in order that the Athenians and other maritime states might be in a weakened state, should they be forced into hostilities with them.” Since the article is not repeated after ἄλλοις before ναυτικὸν ἔχουσι, it is necessary to take ἄλλοις adjectively and the two latter words as occupying the place of a substantive, “the other possessors of fleets.” So in v. lxxii. 3, οἱ τριακόσιοι ἱππῆς καλούμενοι, “the three hundred so-called knights.”

xlv. 1. αὐτοῖς = Κερκυραίοις.—Λακεδαιμόνιος ὁ Κίμωνος, “Lacedæmonius the son of Cimon.” The great Cimon had six sons, ὧν τοὺς μὲν τρεῖς ἀπὸ ἔθνων, ὧν προϋξένισεν, ὠνόμασε, Λακεδαιμόνιον, Ἡλείον, Θετταλόν, τοὺς δὲ τρεῖς ἀπὸ ἠνομάτων τῆς συγγενείας, Μιλτιάδην, Κίμωνα καὶ Πεισιδάνακτα.—τῶν ἐκείνων χωρίων is from the nominative τὰ ἐκείνων χώρα, “or against any of the places belonging to them.” This intermediate position of the τίς is repeated in the same formula in I. liii. 4, and, in another form of expression in V. lxxxii. 4, τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὲς πόλεων.—οὕτω δέ, “but in that case,—but if they did.”

xlvi. 1, 2, 3. πέμπτος αὐτός, (= μετ’ ἄλλων τεσσάρων) “with four others”; literally, “fifth himself.” Distinguish the ordinal πέμπτος from the verbal adjective πεμπτός, “sent, delegated.”—ὧν ἔντος. That is, between the Achæron and the Thyamis.

xlvi. 1, 2. Σῶβοτα (i. e. swine-pastures), situated east of Coreyra, near the promontory Leucimæ.

xlix. 1. ξυμμίξαντες. It was customary, before they joined battle, for both parties to invoke the assistance of the gods by prayers and sacrifices;

and the admirals going from ship to ship in some of the lighter vessels, exhorted their soldiers, in a set oration, to behave themselves like men; then all things being in readiness, the signal was given by hanging out of the admiral's galley a gilded shield, as we read in Plutarch, or a red garment or banner. During the elevation of this the fight continued, and by its depression or inclination towards the right or left, the rest of the ships were directed in what manner to attack their enemies, or retreat from them. To this was added the sound of trumpets, which was begun in the admiral's galley, and continued round the whole fleet; it was likewise usual for the soldiers before the fight to sing a pæan or hymn to Mars (παῖαν ἐμβατήριος), and after a victory, another to Apollo (παῖαν νικητηριος). (Potter).—ἀπειρότερον, "somewhat unskilfully, somewhat awkwardly."

2. "For when they had once fallen aboard one another [i. e. when one ship had been purposely run foul of an enemy's] they were with difficulty cleared on account of the number and confusion of the ships, and because they trusted for the victory rather to the Hoplites on the deck, who fought in their places, whilst the ships were motionless. And there were no attempts to break the line, but they kept fighting away with courage and strength rather than with skill." The battle was therefore a deadly hand-to-hand struggle, devoid of manœuvre, science, and regularity.

3. μάχης δέ κ. τ. λ., "but their [= the Athenian] commanders did not begin a fight with them, out of regard to the instructions laid upon them by the Athenians." They contented themselves, for a time with a mere demonstration.

4. "But the right wing of the Athenians suffered most: for the Corcyræans having with twenty ships put them to flight, and having pursued them in disorder to the continent, sailed right up to their encampment, disembarked, and burned the tents which they had deserted, and carried off their baggage. Here, then, the Corinthians and their allies were worsted and the Corcyræans were masters; but where the Corinthians were in person, on the left, they were decidedly victorious, since the twenty ships of the Corcyræans,—out of their inferior force—were not present to them [= had not returned] from the pursuit. But when the Athenians perceived that the Corcyræans were hard-pressed, they began to aid them now most undisguisedly, at first keeping away so as not to drop foul of any; but when it was clear that flight had commenced and that the Corinthians were urging on, then indæd every one set about business; nor was there any longer any distinction made, but it came to a point of necessity that the Corinthians and the Athenians should engage one another."

1. 3, 4. οἷ, "whither."—οἱ δὲ ταῖς πλωίοις κ. τ. λ. "whereupon they [the Corcyræans] with such of their vessels as were still sea-worthy, and as many as had been left [i. e. unengaged], in company with the Athenians sailed out to meet them." The πλωῖοι were ships which had been in action but were not so much shattered as to be unfit for further service; the λοιπαί were such as had not been engaged at all. These last may have amounted to about ten in number; for in chap. xxv. we are told that the Corcyræan fleet consisted of a hundred and twenty sail, whereas according to chap. xlvii., only a hundred and ten were present at the battle.—πρὺμναν ἐκρούοντο, "hove aback." The expression is used of ships "when they go backwards without turning, like a crab." (Krüger). The object

of retiring in this way was to keep the vessel stem-on to the enemy. The corresponding operation on land was ἐπὶ πόδα ἀναχωρεῖν; and so as regards the expression used in the text the preposition is generally used. The Latin equivalent is *inhibere remis*, or *retro navem inhibere*.

liii. 1. ἄνευ κηρυκείου. To intimate that they did not consider peace to be at an end between themselves and the Athenians.—ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων. See note on I. xlv. 2.

liv. 14. τροπαῖον Compare note on I. xxx. 1. — ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Stephanus, Poppo, and Goeller take exception to οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι on the ground that there were Corcyraeans present also. The correctness of the expression has been defended by Benedict, who observes that it was from fear of the Athenians alone that the Corinthians declined the engagement.—εὐκᾶν, “to be victorious,” here used absolutely and intransitively. Similar is the occasional intransitive usage of certain verbs in other languages: *amare* “to be in love;” *he drinks* = “he is a drunkard,” &c.

lv. 2. δοῦλοι. Hence Dr. Bloomfield establishes the conclusion that the Corcyraeans had manned their ships for the most part with slaves; a plan adopted more or less by the other Grecian states, even by the Athenians.—ὁπως αὐτοῖς κ. τ. λ. See III. lxx. 1.

lvi. 1. τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τεῖχος καθελεῖν. That they might not be able to withstand an attack from the Athenian fleets. The Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, were accustomed to cause the fortifications on the land side to be razed. Pallene is described by Grote as the most westerly of “the three prongs of the greater peninsula called Chalkidikê, between the Thermaic and Strymonic gulfs.”—ἐπιδημιουργοί. The δημιουργοί, “ministers of the people,” were the chief magistrates of the Peloponnesians. Asclepiades, as quoted by the scholiast, considers the preposition ἐπὶ superfluous. Goeller understands it to express an *additional* or *extra* magistrate, sent by the mother country to act as a colleague to the demiurgi appointed by the colonists themselves.

lvii. 1. Περιδίκκας Compare II. xci.—2. ἐπολεμώθη δέ κ. τ. λ. “His enmity had been occasioned by the circumstance that the Athenians had formed an alliance with Philip his brother and Derdas, who were united in opposition against him; and in his alarm he bestirred himself by sending ambassadors to Lacedæmon, in order that they [the Athenians] might have a war with the Peloponnesians; and he attempts to gain over the Corinthians, with a view to the revolt of Potidæa.” And he urged upon the Chalcideans of Thrace, &c.—4. δέκα. Instead of δέκα, making, with Archastratus, *eleven* commanders, and with the five additional ones referred to in lxi. 1, *sixteen* of them,—Krüger proposes δ' = τεττάρων, “four.”

lviii. 1. σφῶν περί = περί σφῶν, by anastrophe of the preposition, which, when thus placed as written as a paroxytone instead of an oxytone.—τὰ τέλη, “the ephori.” Compare the editor’s note on Corn. Nep.

2. μίαν τε πόλιν κ. τ. λ. “and so to make of this one powerful city.”

lix. τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης. By this oft-recurring expression Thucydides means the Grecian cities on the north coast of the Ægean Sea from Thessaly to the Hellespont.

lx. 2. Ἀριστεύς. The tragic fate of Aristæus (the same whom Herodotus, VII. cxxxvii, calls Ἀριστεας), is related by Thucydides in II. lxvii. In company with certain ambassadors from the Lacedæmonians, he set out on a mission to the king of Persia. On their way, however, they agreed to

sojourn for a brief period at Thrace, with the view of seducing Sitalces from the Athenian alliance, and enlisting him on their own side. Now the son of Sitalces had been made an Athenian citizen; and an embassy from Athens happening to be at the Thracian court at the time, prevailed upon him to prevent the access of Aristeus and his Lacedæmonian associates to the king, by causing them to be arrested and given into their hands. The unhappy travellers were seized, and hurried off to Athens, and on their arrival there summarily put to death.—ἥ, "[from the day] on which." But some editions read ἧ.

lxi. 2. ἀπνίστανται, "They prepare to evacuate,—they commence their retreat." They arise (ἀνίστανται) from their position before Pydne, with the view of going away (ἀπό). Now Beræa was itself in Macedonia, and was subject to Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians had but recently come to terms of agreement. Why then did the Athenians attack it, particularly as it lay considerably to the west of their direct route to Potidæa, where there speedy presence was so urgently required? This question can only be satisfactorily answered upon the assumption that the violation of the articles of his recent convention with the Athenians,—of which we read in the next chapter, ἀπέστη γὰρ εὐθὺς πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων,—had been already committed by Perdiccas, *before* this attack was made.

3. ἐβδομήκοντα. To wit, forty under Callias, and thirty under Archastratus (lvii. 4.)

lxii. 1. πρὸς Ὀλύνθον, "over against Olynthus," i. e. on that side of Potidæa which looked towards Olynthus.

2. ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. The market was outside the city, in order to take away from the soldiers every pretext for dispersing themselves about the town for the purchase of provisions, and, perchance, in the event of a sudden attack from the enemy to be wanting at their proper post. αὐτοῦ, "in his stead." Perdiccas himself was not present during the battle.

3. ὑποσπόνδους. In order to accomplish the removal of their slain, the vanquished were obliged on every occasion to conclude a formal agreement or armistice. Whichever of the hostile parties was the first to submit to the other a proposition on this subject, was held thereby to acknowledge a defeat. This battle, in which the celebrated philosopher Socrates was present, is referred to by Plato.

lxiv. ἀποτειχίσαντες. It was usual, when a city was to be besieged, for the attacking army to surround it with a second, outer wall,—a wall of investment (περιτειχίζειν), and thus to shut it up and to cut it off from all external communication (ἀποτειχίζειν). The object of the inner wall was to keep the besiegers out, and to protect the garrison from their assaults; the design of the outer wall was to keep the garrison in and to secure the besieging army from their sallies. In the case of Potidæa, the Athenian army did not throw up any of these siege works on the side towards Pallene, on account of the inadequacy of their numbers to a complete investment of the place: until the arrival, therefore, of another corps d'armée from Athens, it remained so far ἀτείχιστος.—οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ κ. τ. λ., "for they did not think that they were sufficiently numerous." The construction is explained in the editor's Greek Delectus.

lxv. 2. Σερμυλίων. This city, situated in Sithyonia, belonged certainly to the Athenian ξυμμαχία. See V. xviii. 8.

lxvii. 2. Αἰγινῆται τε φανερώς κ. τ. λ., "And although, from dread of the Athenians, the Æginetæ did not, &c., . . . yet they greatly promoted the war."—κατὰ τὰς σπονδάς. After the battle of Ænophyta (B. C. 456), Ægina had been compelled by the Athenians to demolish its walls, to give up its fleet, and to pay an annual tribute. (Thucydides, I. cviii. 3.) That there was any article in the Thirty years' truce, providing for the restoration to Ægina of its previous independence, we are not aware. It is nevertheless quite possible that the Lacedæmonians may have guaranteed their independence in virtue of some provision therein.

τὸν εἰωθότα. The assembly of the people in which all Spartans above the age of thirty years took part, and which is called in chap. lxxxvii ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, is here designated the "ordinary or customary" meeting, to distinguish it from the μικρὰ ἐκκλησία (Xenoph. Hell. III. iii. 8), which probably consisted exclusively of the ὄμοιοι or *peers*.

lxviii. This speech of the Corinthians extends to the end of Chap. lxxi. After a brief but somewhat flattering exordium, the encroaching and selfish policy of the Athenians is unsparingly exposed and denounced; whilst at the same time an energetic and indignant appeal is made to the Lacedæmonians against further perseverance in the dilatory and undignified course of allowing free scope to the dangerous ambition of their great rival. A masterly outline is then drawn of the distinctive characteristics of the two peoples; the contrast instituted between them being designed to stimulate the national pride of the Lacedæmonians, and to convince them how unsuited to the time and how dangerous to themselves is the reticent and inactive position they occupy. The speech concludes with an exhortation to them at once to inaugurate a more vigorous and more glorious career by an invasion of the Athenian territory; backed by a gentle hint that they may otherwise speedily find themselves forsaken by their allies.—1. "The *bonâ fide* character, Lacedæmonians, of your domestic policy and intercourse renders you the more mistrustful of others [such as ourselves], if we have anything to say; " i.e. anything prejudicial, as in this instance we have, to wit, against the Athenians.—2. οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐσμέν, "not *before* we suffered any wrong, but after we are already involved in difficulties." ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ = ἐν τῷ πάσχειν.

lxix. 1. ἑάσαντες . . . τείχη. See chapters xc., cvii.—ὑμετέροισιν συμμάχοις. This expression has reference to the Æginetes, the Megareans, and the Potidæans. The speaker alludes to them as "*your allies*" with still more emphasis, in order to sting the consciences of the Lacedæmonians who heard him, than he had employed in the preceding chapter when designating them "*our allies*."—2 οὐ μέλλοντες. Cf. I. xlii., φανερὰν ἔχθραν ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσιν κτῆσασθαι.

3, 4. The connection is this: Perhaps you Lacedæmonians may interpose the objection, that as yet the Athenians have made no direct attack upon any of our allies; to which we reply; Yes, but we know very well how they are accustomed to set about their plans; *we* are awake to their insidious and covert proceedings.—τὸν Μῆδον. This usage of a singular to designate an entire people under a despotic government, where in fact the monarch is the state, the Persians, for instance,—is perfectly natural. Thucydides has, however, been censured for employing this representa-

tive singular injudiciously, as in the following instances: τὸν Συρακόσιον, τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ (VI. lxxviii.), τὸν πολέμιον (IV. x. 3.), ὁ Χαλκιδεύς (VI. lxxxiv. 3). At all events this usage is rarer in Greek than in Latin, —ἐπιστάμενοι κ.τ.λ., “although you know not both (1) that the barbarian [Xerxes] was mainly [τὰ πλείω] foiled by himself [through his own blunders, and not through the efficacy of your opposition to him], and (2) that we too in our present struggle [ἤδη] have gained many advantages over the Athenians themselves rather through their own blunders than through any assistance furnished by you.” The imprudence of Xerxes was manifested in his accepting battle in the narrow waters of Salamis. With αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ σφαλέντα compare VI. xxxiii. 6, κἄν περὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πταίσωσι.

5. ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες, “hopes of—trust in—you.”—αἰτία is here used in the sense of friendly complaint and remonstrance, in opposition to κατηγορία, direct accusation and invective.

lxx. 1. οἷους ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίους κ.τ.λ. The following portraiture of character sets forth in bold and vigorous outline the pervading character of the two great political parties, the progressionists and the conservatives, represented at the time, the one by the Athenians, the other by the Lacedæmonians. The successive antitheses suggest themselves naturally from the very nature of the subject, and are entirely borne out by the actual state of the case. Dionysius is therefore manifestly at fault in pronouncing this masterly sketch to be made up merely of μεираκιάδες σχηματισμοὶ τῶν ἀντιθέτων καὶ παρομοίων καὶ παρισώσεων.

3, 4. τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν κ.τ.λ., “their bodies they employ as least of all their own in the service of the state, their talent as their most immediate treasure for the furtherance of its advantage [*literally*, for the doing something on its behalf].”—ἄρα του. Observe that του is here the enclitic, not τοῦ.

lxxi. 2. ἀνάγκη ... κρατεῖν=ἀνάγκη δ' αἰετὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα κρατεῖν, ὥσπερ τέχνης αἰετὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα κρατεῖ. The sentiment calls to the recollection the passage of Homer, Od. α. 351.

τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι
ἣτις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέληται.

lxxiii. The speech of the Athenian embassy terminates at the end of chapter lxxviii. After a brief explanation of the motives which have induced them to address the Lacedæmonians on the occasion, they proceed to justify the present influential and commanding position occupied by the state they represent, (1) as an unavoidable consequence of the previous course of events in Grecian history, and (2) as a legitimate object of national ambition, whose attainment is prompted by the soundest dictates of human reason, and by the most natural impulses of the human heart. They conclude by an impressive warning to the Lacedæmonians against recklessly precipitating themselves into an unjust and unnecessary war at the instigation of a foreign state.

2. τὰ πάντα παλαιά. A sarcasm slyly levelled against the Athenians who were wont to listen with gratification to the flattering myths in which their remote history abounded.—τὰ δὲ Μηδικά, “but we must speak of the Persian invasions and events that you are yourselves cognisant of, notwithstanding that it may be rather disturbing to your equanimity

[than flattering or gratifying], when you have your attention recalled to them." *προβαλλομένοις*, passive.

lxxiv. 1. *τετρακοσίας κ. τ. λ.* The speaker now proceeds to particulars, in order to support his assertion that the three greatest essentials to success were contributed in largest proportions by his countrymen, the Athenians. And firstly as to the ships, he asserts that out of a total of four hundred nearly two thirds were supplied by them. Now Demosthenes in his oration on the crown says that the fleet amounted to *three* hundred vessels, and that the Athenians furnished two hundred of that number. In order, therefore, to reconcile the two statements, Poppo and some other editors have adopted the lection of a few indifferent manuscripts which give *τριακοσίας* in the text instead of *τετρακοσίας*. On the other hand it may be remarked (1) that Herodotus, a contemporary of the event, states the amount at three hundred and seventy-eight ships, and the contingent of the Athenians at only one hundred and eighty; (2) that a little exaggeration on the part of the Athenian orator as to the quota furnished by his countrymen may naturally be expected; and (3) that, in order to reconcile the statement in the text with that of Demosthenes, we must alter—not only *τετρακοσίας* into *τριακοσίας*—but also the expression *ὀλίγῃ ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν* into *τὰς δύο μοίρας*. [There is another view of the meaning of the words *ὀλίγῃ ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν*, in conformity with which the statement in the text would coincide almost exactly with that of Herodotus; “we furnished by a little the less of the two parts [=halves],” i.e. we furnished almost half of the total number of ships.]—*ἐτιμήσατε*. We are told by Herodotus that after the battle of Salamis each of the Grecian commanders was required to name the man who had most contributed to their success, and of him whom they considered to be second in merit. Each of the commanders assigned the first place to himself, but they were nearly unanimous in according the second place to Themistocles. On his arrival at Lacedæmon, he was received with distinction and loaded with honours. The first prize indeed, a crown of olive, was conferred upon Eurybiades, as the foremost in valour; but to Themistocles was adjudged a second crown of olive in consideration of his wisdom, his prudence, and his skill. The people further presented him with the most splendid carriage in Sparta. He was afterwards escorted on his return as far as the frontier of Tegea, by a chosen body of Spartan Knights. His was the only case on record in which so proud a distinction was ever accorded to any one by the Lacedæmonians.

lxxv. 2. *καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλές κ. τ. λ.*, “and we did not consider it safe [= consistent with a due regard for own security], that we—objects of general dislike, when some states that had already revolted were put down by force, and when you were no longer equally well-disposed towards us but on the contrary had become suspicious and distant [towards us]—should rush into danger by abdicating [our influential position].”

lxxvii. 1. The sense is: For even our legal proceedings against our allied dependents are not looked upon with a favourable eye, but are interpreted as evidences of a litigious disposition; notwithstanding that we waive the prerogative vested in us by our high and commanding station in going to law at all when we might have recourse to force, and although we have conducted our proceedings in strict conformity with laws which

operate impartially for ourselves and our allies.—*ξυμβολαίαις δίκαις*, “in conventional suits.” *δίκαι ξυμβολαίαι*, or *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων* are properly processes founded upon an international code,—upon an established covenant between different states. Those states which were on terms of constant and familiar intercourse with one another, were accustomed, for the promotion of their mutual convenience and advantage in commercial and other transactions, to adopt in common a uniform system of justice and of procedure in causes arising between their respective subjects. Here the legal proceedings of the Athenians against their dependent allies are so called, because they were regulated in conformity with an arrangement to which, though in form only, the latter were consenting parties.

lxxix. 2. *Ἀρχίδαμος*—the grandson and successor of Leotychides—was king from B. C. 469 to B. C. 427. His father Zeuxidamus had died before 427.

lxxx. The speech of Archidamus, which extends to the end of chapter lxxxv, is the expression of the most mature and discreet moderation, and bears evidence of a strictly impartial and unbiassed estimation of the relative positions of all parties concerned. Whilst vindicating the character of the Lacedæmonians from the charge of undue reticence and supineness with reference to foreign politics, he urges upon them calm and steady preparation for the worst eventualities that may arise.

lxxxvi. The bellicose Ephorus,—whose brief but fiery effusions are in marked contrast to the deliberate argumentative address of the preceding speaker,—avoids entering into any lengthened discussion of the merits of the question under consideration. In a few telling sentences he tauntingly rejects the self-praise of the Athenians; and, by an appeal both to their patriotism and to their duty towards their confederates, exhorts the Lacedæmonians to enter with spirit into war. [The college of Ephori at Sparta consisted of five. They were annually elected by the people from their own body, and were designed to be checks on the regal power. They never forgot the end of their institution, and in fact quite lorded it over the kings. In a word, the whole administration was lodged in their hands, and the kings were never sovereigns but in the field at the head of the troops. One of the Ephori had the honour to give its style to the year, in the same manner as the first Archon did at Athens (Dean Smith).]

lxxxvii. 1. Müller has an amusing though truthful observation to the following effect: The plan of voting by acclamation was, it must be admitted somewhat rough and unrefined; it possessed, however, the advantage not merely of indicating the *number* of contents and non-contents respectively, but also their *earnestness* and intensity of feeling,—and this, too, with tolerable correctness, considering the simplicity of manners which characterised the ancients.

2. *δείξας*, “at the same time pointing out a place to them.” The parenthetical insertion of such nominative participles is very common.

lxxxix. chapters lxxxix—cxviii contain a digression mainly upon the growth of the Athenian power from the second Persian to the Peloponnesian war. This period of nearly fifty years is sometimes called the *πεντηκοντία*. [The passage of history upon which Thucydides now enters, though not strictly within the compass of his subject, is yet most valuable for the sake of the additional light which it throws upon it. The his

torian states important facts in the clearest and most orderly manner; he opens before us the source of the Athenian power, and by a neat and concise enumeration of notable events, conducts it to that height which excited the jealousy of other states, and was the true political cause of the succeeding war. (Dean Smith.)—1. καὶ ναυτὶ καὶ πεζῶ, “both by sea and land.”—2. Σηστόν. Sestus was taken B. C. 478.—3. ὅθεν ὑπέξέθεντο. From Salamis, Aegina, and Træzene.

xc. 4. οὐ προσήει πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, “he did not go to [= apply to = demand an audience of] the Ephori,” who exercised paramount influence in the management and disposal of foreign affairs.

xc. 2. Ἀβρώνυχος. The same who was charged to convey the intelligence of the battle at Thermopylæ to the fleet off Artemisium. (Herod. viii. xxi.)—Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, is the celebrated Athenian of that name.—4. οὐ γὰρ οἶδόν τ’ εἶναι κ. τ. λ. From βουλευέσθαι we must supply the participle βουλευομένων, thus: οὐ γὰρ οἶδόν τ’ εἶναι, μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς βουλευομένων, ὁμοῖόν τι ἢ ἴσον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν βουλευέσθαι, “for that it would not be possible, for those whose recommendations were not backed by [ἀπὸ] equal resources, to enforce any equitable or uniform measure.” Here ἀπό is used in its primary acceptance of *proceeding from*; “with equal warlike resources in reserve.”

xciii. 2. ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς. The year in which Themistocles was archon is disputed: according to some it was Ol. 71, 4 (B. C. 493), according to others, among whom is Krüger, Ol. 74, 3 (B. C. 482), and according to a third class of chronologists, Ol. 74, 4 (B. C. 481).—λιμένας τρεῖς. These were called Κανθάρου λιμὴν, Ἀφροδίσιον, Ζέα.

3. τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης κ. τ. λ., “for he was the first who ventured to tell them that they must maintain a command over the sea, and he forthwith began to co-operate with them in establishing the sovereignty (= the sovereignty of the seas).”

xciv. Wachsthum, Clinton, Hermann, and Krueger assign to this expedition the date Ol. 75, 3 or 4; Müller about Ol. 76, 2. Now commences the description of that important crisis in the affairs of Greece when the confederacy which had hitherto acknowledged the protectorate of Sparta, went over to Athens.—ξυνέπλεον δέ. The commanders of this fleet were Aristides and Cimon.

xcvi. 2. οἱ ἐδέχοντο κ. τ. λ. This nice and difficult point was adjusted by Aristides, to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. Greece conferred on him this most important trust; he was called to this delicate commission by the general voice of his country;—‘poor,’ says Plutarch, ‘when he set about it; but poorer still when he had finished it.’ The Athenian state was now furnished with a large annual fund, by which it was enabled not only to annoy the *foreign enemies of Greece*, but even those *Greeks* who should at any time presume to oppose the measures of *Athens*. They soon found out that their own city was a more convenient place for keeping this treasure than the isle of Delos, and accordingly took care to remove it thither.

xcviii. 1. Πρῶτον μὲν κ. τ. λ. According to Krueger, the siege of Eion and the capture of Scyros took place B. C. 476; and the war against the Naxians B. C. 473. Eion “on the Strymon (ἡ ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι),” the harbour of Amphipolis, is distinguished from a town of the same name on the Thracian coast, colonised by settlers from Mende. (Thuc. iv. vii.)

c. 1. ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοι τι. This double fight took place in the year 469; the revolt of the Thasians in 467. This is in accordance with the chronology of Krüger; most other commentators assign to the former the date 466, and to the latter 465.—3. ἐν Δραβήσκῳ. The dates assigned to this fight vary from 467 to 464; Krueger adopts the former.

ci. 1. σεισμοῦ. B. C. 466. Insurrections of the Helots (Εἰλωτες) were by no means of rare occurrence; on the contrary, of a revolt of the Periwæci (περίοικοι) there is no example on record, with the exception of that of the two Messenian towns here mentioned.—2. πόλεμος. Usually called the third Messenian War.

cii. 1. ἄλλους τε. The Æginetæ, the Platæans, and the Mantineans. Cf. Thuc. II. xxvii; III. li. Xen. Hill. v. ii. 3.

ciiii. 1. δε κάτῳ. Krueger establishes the probability that the correct reading is δ' = τετάρτῳ.

civ. 1. ἀπέστησεν. According to Krueger this took place in the year 460, as also the events recorded in the next chapter.—Λεῦκον τεῖχος. We are informed by the Scholiast that the name was derived from the circumstance that this part was built of stone, the remainder of bricks.—The narrative of the occurrences in Egypt is resumed (Chap. cix) when Thucydides comes to the year in which the war ended.

cv. 1. Ἀλιᾶς. This people,—whose name is here, as is frequently the case, put in place of that of their territory, which in II. lvi. 3 and in IV. xlv. 3, is called Ἀλιάς,—appear to have dwelt in villages and hamlets on the coast of Argolis, from Hermione as far as to the neighbourhood of Træzene. They were probably the περίοικοι of the Dorian Argives, the remnant of the old inhabitants, who still retained possession of the outermost portion of Argolis, and lived by fishing and, perhaps, piracy also.

cviii. 1. The fight of Tanagra is assigned by Krüger to the year 458, by most others to the year 457.

3. ὠμολόγησαν. In the year 457, after a nine months' siege.

cix. 1. βασιλεύς. Artaxerxes Longimanus.

cx. 1. ὄντας ξυμμάχους. Since the battle of Ænophyta, chap. cviii.—ἐστράτευσαν. According to Krueger in the year 454.

2. Περικλέους. This is the first mention made of one of the most distinguished names in Athenian history.—μάχη. Near Nemea.

cxii. 1. σπονδαί γίνονται. According to Krueger in the year 454 and the expedition to Cyprus in 449. Cimon had been recalled. 3. ἱερὸν πόλεμον. B. C. 448. Krueger.

cxiv. 1. ἀπέστη. In the year 446. Μέγαρα. This revolt of Megara, a little republic almost surrounded by the dominions of Athens, leagued closely with her, and under her protection, gave rise to that decree which excluded the Megareans from the ports and markets of Athens. Others add that they slew one Athenian herald, who was sent to expostulate with them on this account. Could such outrages be submitted to by Athenians? Could Pericles dissuade the people of Athens from showing resentment? They decreed further, though it is not expressly mentioned by Thucydides, that the generals of the state should swear at their election to make an incursion twice a year into Megaris. We shall soon see that the Peloponnesians made it a pretext for the ensuing war, and that Pericles justified the decree, and persuaded the Athenians to hazard a war rather than repeat it. This is the true history of the matter, though

comedy, and raillery, and libelling, strangely vary the account. (Dean Smith.)—2. ἐξοκίσαντες. Because they had seized an Athenian ship and murdered its crew.

cxv. 1. σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο. In the year 445.

cxvii. 2. Θουκυδίδου. This Thucydides is not the historian. Nor is it, probably, the son of Melesias, inasmuch as the latter had been ostracised not more than three years previously, and we have no evidence of his having been recalled before the regular time. It seems, therefore, that a third Thucydides is most likely meant. κατεκλήσθησαν. The manner of doing this was to environ the walls and harbour with ships, ranged in order from one side of the shore to the other, and so closely joined together by chains and bridges, on which armed men were placed, that, without breaking their order, there could be no passage from the town to the sea. (Potter.)

cxviii. 1. πεντήκοντα μάλιστα. Accurately reckoned, only 48 years, from 480 to 432.

2. πολέμοις οἰκεῖοις, i. e. against the Helots.

cxix. In this speech, which terminates at the end of chapter cxxiv, the Corinthians urge the necessity of war as incumbent upon all, even upon the inlanders, who are threatened with danger no less than those who are engaged in direct intercourse with the Athenians, and who have been already the victims of their tyranny and injustice. At the same time they enforce the doctrine that war is only to be recommended in as far as it is a means (to use language current in more modern times) of obtaining 'a just and honourable peace,' and one that will contribute to the cause of freedom. They then declare the grounds upon which they rest their hopes of a favourable issue to the hostile proceedings they advocate; and conclude with an energetic and spirited appeal to the Lacedæmonians boldly and at once to embark in them.

4. ἐνθυμεῖται γάρ κ.τ.λ., "for no one concocts plans with [only] the same confidence as that with which he sets about them in accomplishment; on the contrary we theorise with positiveness, but in our practice we hang timidly back." In οὐδεὶς ὁμοίᾳ there is a litotes or meiosis: Thucydides intends to represent the speaker as declaring that the confidence of success which we all feel in framing our plans is greater than that which attends us during their actual execution.

cxix. 1. ὅμως δὲ καθισταμένοις κ.τ.λ., "but yet [although ἐδόκει μὴ εἶναι μέλλησιν] while they were providing what was necessary, there elapsed, not indeed a year—less than that—before they" &c. The expression ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ διετρίβη, ἔλασσον δέ seems to mean that a period of time had elapsed, which, though not quite a whole year (but less), may be designated a year with sufficient accuracy for ordinary purposes; it was just within the year, and that's all.

cxix. 4. Διάσια. These festivals were celebrated in the month Ἀνθεστηριων. The poor were accustomed to offer up, not real animals, but cakes made in the form of animals; these are here styled θύματα ἐπιχώρια. Herodotus (II. xlvii. 5) mentions a similar custom in Egypt, of offering counterfeit pigs made of a paste or dough of meal, instead of the genuine animals themselves.—7. τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν. The temple of the Eumenides was situated between the Acropolis and the Areopagus.—ἐναγείς. Particularly the Alcæonidæ, whose chief, Megacles, was Archon eponymus

in this year. In the year 510, these banished Alcmaeonidæ with Spartan aid overthrew the Pisistratidæ and thereupon returned to Athens. During their banishment they had become transformed from unbending aristocrats into friends of the people; Cleisthenes was now at their head. For this reason the aristocrats under Isagoras now arrayed themselves in opposition against them; and they succeeded, also with Spartan assistance, in driving out the Alcmaeonidæ a second time (B.C. 509). Nevertheless the Athenians soon turned against king Cleomenes who, with Isagoras, held possession of the citadel, expelled him, and once again restored the Alcmaeonidæ.

ccxvii. 1. *μητέρα*. Agariste, the mother of Pericles, was a granddaughter of Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, and a niece of Cleisthenes.

ccxviii. 2. *Χαλκιοίκον*. A surname of Minerva from a brazen temple, —or, more probably, from a temple furnished with brazen walls,—in which was also a brazen image of the goddess.

ccxxi. 1. *σκυτάλην*. This contrivance is thus described in the editor's note on Cornelius Nepos' Life of Pausanias, p. 104. "It is frequently expedient for a government at home to send *secret* instructions to a commander-in-chief abroad. To enable them to do this with tolerable certainty, the Lacedæmonians adopted the following course. The Ephori, when about to dispatch a general to take the command of an army, took two black sticks, of exactly equal dimensions in every respect. One of these sticks the Ephori gave to the general, the other they kept themselves. We will suppose that some time after the general has assumed his command, an emergency arises, which induces the Ephori to send him some secret message. They take their black stick, and wind a slip of parchment obliquely round it, like the outside tobacco-leaf of a cigar, or the bandage on a sore limb. The staff is thus covered from end to end with a layer of parchment, rolled round it in a spiral form. The Ephori then lay their stick lengthwise, and write on the parchment longitudinally from one end of the stick towards the other. The parchment being then unwound from the staff, the writing loses its continuousness and becomes unintelligible. It is then dispatched to the commander. Around his own staff he winds the parchment, the folds of which resume their former position, and thus the communication becomes legible. The term *σκυτάλη* is applied sometimes to the parchment, sometimes to the staff around which it is wound."

The Scholiast proposes the question, How came it that Pausanias was in possession of the scytale, since he was not abroad in any official capacity accredited by the government? He answers the question by assuming that he had retained it ever since his former employment in the public service.

ccxxii. 1. *ἀνεψιός*. Cleombrotus, the father of Pausanias, and Leonidas, the father of Pleistarchus, were brothers.—2. *τρίποδα*. This is described by Herodotus as a golden tripod resting upon a three-headed brazen snake and standing quite close to the altar. The inscribed distich,—here styled *ἐλεγείον*, a name common to everything written in elegiac measure, —was, according to Pausanias, the composition of the celebrated lyric poet Simonides.

ccxxvi. 1. *φεύγει*. According to Krueger, B.C. 473.—*εὐεργέτης*. According to the Scholiast, Themistocles screened the Corcyraeans from the

punishment they had rendered themselves liable to by their refusal to take part in the common cause of Greece on the occasion of the Persian invasion, by representing the internal calamities which would result from having recourse to extremities. According to Plutarch, he adjusted a contention between the Coreyræans and Corinthians in favour of the latter.

cxl. Pericles comprehends the arguments to be urged in favour of a recourse to arms under two heads: (1) the Lacedæmonians, and not the Athenians, are the aggressors,—this justifies the Athenians in declaring war, upon moral grounds; (2) a comparison of the means and resources available on either side warrants the most sanguine expectations of success, thus justifying that step from prudential considerations. He then proposes the terms of an answer to the Lacedæmonian ambassadors; and concludes by exhorting the Athenians to maintain the dignified position to which their state had been raised by the resolution and valour of their fathers.



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